JPRS-CPS-86-078

9 OCTOBER 1986

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GENERAL INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FOREIGN MINISTER DISCUSSES MIDDLE EAST ISSUES

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 22-28 Aug 86 pp 30-31

[Interview with Wu Xueqian, PRC Foreign Minister, by George Bashir: "Our Wish Was to Achieve Solidarity Among Arabs"; in Beijing, date not specified]

[Text] Visitors to Beijing nowadays get a clear first-hand feeling that the Chinese official, political, and economic machine is turning its full attention to consolidating an open-door policy in all fields and to shutting the doors of the closed policy instituted by the leaders of the past political school. Moreover, the internal operations room is carefully watching open-door policy ramifications the world over, particularly in "friendly" countries, namely, the Warsaw Pact countries led by the Soviet Union and those countries that used to be viewed as "enemies." Furthermore, it is appraising the results of the open-door policy at the domestic level and in popular circles in particular.

The Soviets know that Chinese technological assistance in the satellite field has doubled U.S. technological capabilities in this field following fateful difficulties this technology faced last year. Nonetheless, relations between Bejing and Moscow are extremely sensitive these days and are confined to protocol and economic fields. Neither of the two ruling parties deals with the other the way leaders of the same party are supposed to deal with one another. Each has its own viww of local, regional, and international affairs, and international problems in particular. Solutions to such problems are governed by the interests of the two superpowers in the communist world. For just as Moscow carefully appraises Chinese officials' steps toward Washington and vice-versa, Bejing in turn carefully appraises most of the Soviet capital's steps in this direction. Appraisal is made in the course of what happened in the summit meeting between the American and Soviet leaders, Michael Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, in Geneva and the resulting agreements during and after the meeting on the two giants' relations, interests, world problems, and spheres of influence and on possible agreements in this domain in the second summit meeting to be held before the end of this year. The important thing is that no agreement be concluded at the expense of China which views itself as the number-three giant in this world and the upcoming leader of this world at the end of the nineties and beyond that.

When visitors to China discuss with senior Chinese officials international matters and China's relations with Moscow and Washington, they realize that, reservations notwithstanding, the observed policy of open-door and rapprochement is not reflected in Washingtoh's position on Taiwan because the American capital insists on regarding it as the "American aircraft carrier in the China Sea," in the opinion of the Chinese government at least. Likewise, the Beijing government blames Washington for its stance on problems in Vietnam and continued intervention in Korea and raises more than one question on international relations horizons about Moscow's and Washington's credibility and their genuine desire to follow a sincere policy to bring about disarmament and a stop to the nuclear race through summit meetings.

Regarding the Middle East problems and the Palestinian issue, visitors to China notice that Chinese officials have adopted a political position that constituted a qualitative step, indeed a strategic one, with respect to this problem, especially since it supports every endeavor aimed at finding a solution to the Middle East problem that safeguards the survival and territorial safety of all countries in the region and the Palestinians' right to a country and a homeland in particular. They have declared their support for an international conference under UN auspices to be attended by the parties to the conflict in an effort to reach such a solution. Such a conference requires painstaking preparations so that it will not be used as a forum for trading accusations or for promoting this or that international party.

With regard to the war in Lebanon, Chinese officials take a deep penetrating view of the situation in Lebanon. They regard the existence of Lebanon as a safe, fully sovereign, free, democratic, and independent state free of foreign intervention by any regional or international side, and as a necessary matter and an international and regional interest. They believe that countries and capitals that have benefitted from the war in Lebanon or tried to replace Lebanon and steal its political, economic, intellectual, and commercial role failed to realize its dreams despite all the tragedies, destruction, and ruin brought upon Lebanon and its capital. Senior Chinese officials informed the first Lebanese delegate to visit them, Ambassador and Foreign Ministry Secretary General Fu'ad al-Turk, of this viewpoint regarding the situation in Lebanon, alluding to a diplomatic and political initiative they are undertaking with great and small powers at the regional and international levels to explain these facts and to apprise them of their view that Lebanon's survival as an independent, sovereign, and free state is an international necessity that precludes occupation of its land, intervention in its affairs, or tinkering with its destiny. The country of a billion inhabitants is moving slowly but surely after it has emerged from its shell, holding the threads of international problems and international presence with the precision of "acupuncture," relying on open-door policy, patience, farsightedness, and production development.

At the foreign ministry headquarters in Beijing, AL-HAWADITH had the following interview with Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian which centered naturally around international relations, open-door policy, relations with Moscow and Washington, the Middle East problem, and the war in Lebanon.

[Question] How do you evaluate the situation in the Middle East through relations with Arab countries?

[Answer] As you know, we have good relations with the Arab countries, including the PLO. Our view of the situation in this area of the world is based on Israel's persistence in following an aggressive policy toward the Arab countries and peoples and its obdurate occupation of large parts of Arab territory through unacceptable aggression, backed in this by the United States. However, we hope and are seeking to achieve in return solidarity in positions among various Arab governments and countries toward this problem equal to the problem and the size of the ongoing aggression. Unfortunately, however, with every passing day we see fragmentation, fracture, and division in the Arab position which is totally incompatible with the requirements of the desired confrontation with this ongoing aggression by Israel. The Arab countries are required to speak in Israel's face as one voice and to adopt a single position and agree on a common denominator. If the Arab position was unified as we wish it to be, the Arabs would have been able to avert many problems, in the forefront of which are ongoing Israeli aggression and the war in Lebanon.

[Question] There are several draft solutions to the Middle East crisis, including the convocation of an international conference.

[Answer] We emphasize peaceful negotiations in the interest of a just and comprehensive solution to the Middle East problem. During my last visit to the region, many friends proposed to me the idea of holding an international conference and I immediately expressed China's support of such a proposal. The important thing, however, is that wise and meticulous preparations be made for such a conference to avoid haphazardness and offhanded results and to guard against using it as a framework and a forum for trading accusations and a front for posturing and propaganda. A conference of this sort and caliber has to yield numerous and significant results that can bring peace, stability, and good will to the people of the region. It must not be used as a forum for propaganda for any of the parties. China's position on this is clear. We always call for a reasonable and just solution and oppose all steps inconsistent with such a solution.

[Question] With regard to the war in the Gulf between Iran and Iran, where does China stand?

[Answer] The beneficiary in this war is Israel and the loser is the Iraqi and Iranian people.

[Question] But some say that China is providing both sides with weapons?

[Answer] This is deceptive and untrue. China maintains good diplomatic relations with both countries. We feel that this long war has been going on for 6 years without results. We are worried about this fact and have made endeavors with both parties to bring an end to this war that is destroying their capabilities and existence, but it is a never-ending war. We have and still are strongly supporting regional and international endeavors to end this war, but unfortunately these endeavors have not yielded the desired results.

From our perspective, both parties' commitment to end the war unconditionally is a duty and an urgent necessity for their peace as well as for regional and international stability. This is a principle in Chinese policy that will not be compromised and which we hope to realize without hesitation.

[Question] Some disruption has been noticed in American-Chinese relations. Does this have anything to do with the rapprochement between Moscow and Beijing?

[Answer] First of all, China's relations with the United States are stable at present, but the Taiwan issue and the American position on it are still considered the distinguishing mark or the stumbling block for any positive and rapid development in relations between the two countries. So long as Washington is determined to view Taiwan as an American aircraft carrier and a 5th fleet in the Far East, negative climates will continue to prevail over relations between the two countries.

Here I must deny that Moscow has had any hand in this because our relations with the United States or any other country are not influenced by our relations with the Soviet Union or any other country.

[Question] But your relations with the Soviet Union are not close. At the party level, for example, exchange is still confined to traditional visits.

[Answer] It must be pointed out that Soviet-Chinese relations have witnessed considerable development in recent years at the economic and commercial levels and in the exchange of visits as well. The Soviet Union still refuses to discuss the three obstacles impeding any kind of significant positive development or progress in relations between the two countries. However, ongoing official visits between the two countries may be considered a remarkable development!

[Question] It is noted that Soviet-American relations continue to develop, especially following the first Geneva summit between Presidents Reagan and Gorbachev and the second possible one between the two leaders before the end of the year. Does not China fear that the two countries may come to an agreement at its expense?

[Answer] No, not at all. We are here and do not oppose any international rapprochement in the interest of world peace. So long as we are working for world peace, how can any international agreement be at our expense?!

[Question] But how do you assess the outcome of the first American-Soviet summit and can it establish solutions to international problems apart from other countries?

[Answer] The first Geneva meeting between the two presidents, Gorbachev and Reagan, arrived at an initial communique declaring the two countries' readiness to hold a second meeting. Should a second meeting be held, we hope it will reach an agreement on the most important international issues, namely, the intrinsic issues and particularly the question of disarmament, the arms race, and the so-called Star Wars. Any agreement of this sort between the two

is bound to contribute to the realization of peaceful progress in the world. The important thing in our opinion is that the two parties must have a genuine intention to reach such an agreement. Sincere intentions by both sides are a a prerequisite for reaching an agreement on any intrinsic question that guarantees world peace.

[Question] You have informed Lebanon that China will undertake international contacts to back efforts aimed at helping Lebanon regain its existence, role, seurity, and independence. How are you translating such intentions and endeavors?

[Answer] We look at Lebanon as a 6,000-year old civilization which is the age of Chinese civilization as well. The difference between the two countries is geographic and from the standpoint of area and population as well. Everyone is aware of the tremendous difference bgetween the area of China and that of Lebanon and the population of China and Lebanon's population. However, we do not look at peoples and countries from this point of view, i.e., size and area. Lebanon, in our view, is much bigger than its area. It is as big as its civilization which is as old as the Chinese civilization. The ability of its people exceeds the size of its population and is demonstrated all over the world through vitality, productivity, creativity, and innovation. Lebanon's existence in our view is a regional and international necessity. By this I mean Lebanon's existence as a totally independent state with sovereignty over all its territory, and Lebanon as a free, democratic state because it is an international and a cultural necessity. We are patiently waiting for Lebanese efforts and international endeavors to succeed in putting a stop to violence and destruction and to establish peace, security, and stability so that Lebanon may regain its role and vitality in the international domain. We have apprised everyone of China's position calling for full and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. Moreover, various other sides must respect Lebanon's independence and full sovereignty over its territory and we will underscore this position once again at all levels.

Our talk with the Chinese foreign minister could have gone on indefinitely, but the minister of the great power, his many duties notwithstanding, made time to receive AL-HAWADITH in his office in Beijing to give this interview.

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CSO: 4504/407

HOVERCRAFT PERSONNEL EXPRESS DISCONTENT

Letter to the Editor

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 30 Jun 86 p 1

[Letter from 128 hovercraft scientists and technicians: "Developing Hovercraft Technology Requires Respect for the Laws of Science"]

[Text] Editor: The article "Why Do Hovercraft Engineers Wish To Leave?" published on 23 June in this paper won the attention of all quarters in society on the development of the hovercraft and the plight of the seventh research office scientists and technicians. One hundred twenty-eight scientists and technicians of the Seventh Office wrote a letter to this paper to express their hopes and desires. Their letter is excerpted here.

Comrade Editor:

Your article has produced a strong reaponse in our office. Everyone feels that it portrays the present state of our office, reveals the failure to accord the proper respect due to intellectuals--the key issue--and expresses our demand for observance of the laws of science and our urgent desire to return to Institute 708 and expedite the development of hovercraft technology.

Under the leadership of Institute 708, our office has developed from the initial research group in the sixties to the present specialization mechanism of a preliminary scale, and our basic theoretical and applied research has reached a certain depth. We should cherish the excellent situation in the development of hovercraft, respect objective laws, steadily pursue research work, and expand the role of hovercraft, a new type of boat of unique superiority, in a modern society with increasingly rapid rhythm. However, due to certain reasons, the scientific and technical personnel's rational suggestions have not been accepted and the development of hovercraft technology has been affected. Recently, just when we were working hard to change this fluctuating situation, the pertinent leading department, without consulting the vast number of scientists and technicians of the Seventh Office, made a decision on 1 February this year to transfer the office from Institute 708. We are deeply concerned. Hovercraft technology is a complex synthetic technology requiring the solution of technical problems and all kinds of auxiliary and technical support. Institute 708 is a scientific research unit with complete research strengths and superior equipment and experimental conditions. If we are

severed from this base, how can we improve the level of China's hovercraft technology?

How to make China's hovercraft research break out of the fluctuating situation in recent years has been an issue of constant concern to our comrades in the Seventh Office. We feel that in terms of the developmental strategy, we should follow the principle of steadiness, draw back, and concentrate forces for a decisive battle. To develop hovercraft technology, we should first focus on solving the key technical problems. Meanwhile, we should change the spreading out of research on the dozen or more models and concentrate on the solution of the common problems of a few models. In the system, the Seventh Office should be returned to the leadership of Institute 708, which will exercise unified management of its personnel, technology, operation, and finances. Meanwhile, we should strengthen its lateral links with other research units, shipyards, and users. The craft should be produced at fixed locations, gradually progressing to commissioning specialized plants to perform production tasks. As its production is not very profitable, or even unprofitable, the state should follow the policy of rendering aid.

All the cadres and people of the Seventh Office feel that, to avoid loss to the party and the people, we should end as soon as possible the present situation of paralysis, resume the normal order of scientific research, earnestly consolidate, organize the solution of key technical problems, and fully develop the intelligence and wisdom of the entire staff. The production of hovercraft is very promising. We are eager to render service to the motherland and wish to devote all our effort to the flight of the hovercraft on China's waters. We hope that the leading department can understand our feelings, make decisions on an early date compatible with our desires and the developmental laws of scientific research, and lead us to propel hovercraft research to a new height.

One hundred twenty-eight scientists and technicians of the Seventh Office

Discontent Analyzed

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 23 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by staff reporter Xin Guangqi [6580 0342 3825]: "Why Do Hovercraft Engineers Wish To Leave?"]

[Text] In a research office of 100-plus people, over 50 of them applied for transfer. It occurred recently in the Seventh Research Office of Institute 708. The Seventh Office is the cradle of China's hovercraft research and the arena where Shanghai's outstanding CPC member Hua Yi [5478 1837] once served while living. Here, together with her comrades-in-arms, she dedicated herself to China's hovercraft, exerting a relentless effort. Today, why do its engineers wish to leave?

In March 1985, the Shanghai-Nantong hovercraft line formally opened. It was China's first coastal hovercraft line. Undoubtedly it added wings to Nantong, a city known as the "little economic tiger." Both its government and its

people were joyous, but some hovercraft designers were full of misgivings. They knew that there was still a gap between China's hovercraft research and its practical application. They voiced their concern and suggested that attention be focused on several models and the key technical problems. Not only did they vigorously express their opinions, but veteran engineers Zheng Nan [6774 2809] and Zhao Wansui [6392 8001 4840] submitted written reports to pertinent national and municipal departments.

Many researchers proposed the following: The "Shenxiang" was an experimental craft manufactured over a decade ago. Its performance was poor, and corrosion of its outer shell had penetrated more than 50 percent of the thickness of the steel plates. Though the "Jinxiang" was a new craft, it was not designed for this line and was not well suited to these waters. In spite of the scientific bases, their views were ignored.

Eventually, the two craft successively broke down and were towed to the dock for repairs. Nantong was forced to demand a suspension of the contract. Over 100,000 yuan were spent. When their designers who had toiled so painstakingly saw the plight of the once swift craft, their eyes grew moist. Engineer Liu Debin [0491 1795 2430] declared: "I took part in designing several side-wall models, but after manufacture I could not even get to see them travel. It was a waste of energy. The labor was in vain!" Indeed, scientists and technicians racked their brains on the project, and their only desire was to see the craft fly. Nevertheless, their feelings were not understood, nor were their opinions and suggestions respected.

As early as in 1982, the pertinent department of the state demanded the design and manufacture of the largest domestic practical all-surface model within a year. During technological demonstrations, most scientists and technicians felt that conditions were not yet ripe because of a shortage of time, technical difficulties, the fact that the main engine was not yet finalized, and eight key technical issues in design and manufacture required special studies. No serious attention was given to their correct opinion, and a major project costing up to 10 million yuan was hastily launched. Today, 4 years have passed, and the craft is still under construction, with heaps of technical problems requiring large sums of additional investment. Even when manufactured, one cannot be optimistic about its performance and reliability.

Objectively speaking, China started hovercraft research fairly early, the personnel quality was high, and the work attained a fairly high level. After inspecting the Seventh Office, renowned international authorities made a relatively high assessment of its theoretical and applied research. However, a series of mistakes in strategy and tactics caused setbacks time and again to the practical exploration, and the value of the researchers' mental labor was not realized. How could they not feel discouraged? Engineer Zheng Rentao [6774 0088 3447], chief of the First All-surface Section, declared emotionally: "I joined the field upon graduation from college. Now my hair has turned white, but I have not produced a truly usable craft. I am too ashamed to face the state and my children!"

Researchers in the office expressed their indignation: "The party Central Committee has time and again urged respect for knowledge and intellectuals, yet precisely in a unit where intellectuals are concentrated, they have not received the proper respect, nor just recognition of the fruits of their mental labor."

Deng Guisen [6772 2710 2773], a 1964 college graduate, served as director (assistant supervisory engineer) of the project on the then largest domestic hovercraft. A key man in the office, he was responsible and energetic in his work. Nevertheless, his post as assistant general designer of the practical model was in name only. He was asked to make a general report at the discussion meeting, yet not permitted to see the eight documents and drawings on the turbine; he was given the responsibility to coordinate the project, yet not shown the drawing of the engine room layout prior to examination and approval; nominally he was in charge of the overall design, yet had no authority to handle many of the technical problems.

Full of enthusiasm, Deng Guisen successively made more than 100 written suggestions on relevant technical problems, but no attention was given them. Finally, he had no alternative but to quit. Other scientists and technicians, including senior engineer Wang Zhigong [3769 1807 0501], Yu Zhongde [0205 1813 1795], known as an "authority on air cushion theory," Jiang Guoliang [3068 0948 2733], chief designer of China's first side-wall model hovercraft, and Zhao Wansui, chief of the structure section--all mainstays of China's hovercraft research--successively left the Seventh Office. Deng Guisen was said to be "crazy"; Wang Zhigong was considered "stubborn".... Perhaps they all have their particular shortcomings or weaknesses. However, they have one thing in common: their total absorption in their work and a fairly high professional level. Is it not the strongest foundation of trust and cooperation?

Recently, without consulting the scientists and technicians in advance, the pertinent leading department decided to change the system of the Seventh Office. Starting from the desire for the sound progress of the hovercraft project, the overwhelming majority in the office submitted a joint petition to the pertinent department. Their consensus was: when the hovercraft project urgently needs to solve the technical problems, severing the Seventh Office from the research institute with its complete research facilities and superior equipment and experimental conditions and transferring it to a development corporation with no technical strengths, the plant entity and experimental base are unfavorable to the improvement of China's hovercraft technology. Moreover, serious flaws in the system are found in the change. Today, the research work of the Seventh Office is on the verge of paralysis.

It is easy to see that the reasons for the situation are complex, and the centrifugal sentiments of the scientists and technicians are not the result of "1 day's chill." The leading department's inaccurate assessment of the development of the project, the subjectivity of certain decisions, the jealousy of certain individual leaders deeming themselves experts, and the resulting situation of "Li Bai attacking Du Fu" (intellectual cadres oppressing intellectuals) have all affected and suppressed the enthusiasm of the personnel. The situation found in the Seventh Office again reminds one of an issue that calls for serious attention: to develop China's science and

technology, we must respect knowledge, intellectuals, and their real expertise and deep insight.

Editorial postscript: the party Central Committee has time and again stressed "respect for knowledge and talents." Though producing a tremendous influence and impact in the practice of reform and construction, this strategic thinking still encounters resistance and interference of all kinds. The dispatch published today tells us that some departments and units ignore the rational suggestions of scientists and technicians, give no proper attention to their assiduous labor, make no just assessment of their scientific opinions, and fail to respect their independence in research. On the other hand, failing to recognize the dedication, zeal, and perseverance of the research personnel and seizing upon some shortcomings and issues of work style, some leaders flagrantly criticize them, damaging their enthusiasm and creativity. This abnormal situation should receive general attention. Intellectual resources are found among experts in all fields and among the laboring people with intelligence, wisdom, and rich knowledge. If we fail to activate fully the enthusiasm of the vast numer of scientists and technicians, respect for knowledge and talents is merely an empty phrase. In terms of units where this situation is found, higher authorities should go to the basic level and earnestly render help and make corrections.

6080/12859
CSO: 4005/851

YANG YICHEN REVIEWS CRACKDOWN ON ECONOMIC CRIME

Beijing FAZHI JIANSHE [LAW AND ORDER] in Chinese No 2, 15 Apr 86 pp 5-10

[Article by Yang Yichen [2799 2496 6591], procurator-general of the Supreme People's Procuratorate: "Continue the Fight Against Serious Economic Crime; Sum Up Experience and Advance on the Crest of Victory"]

[Text] In 1985, with the restructuring of China's economic system in full swing, new achievements were made in the building of both a socialist material civilization and a socialist spiritual civilization. Procuratorial organs at all levels throughout the nation intensified procuratorial work against economic criminal activities, the fight to crackdown on serious economic crime made new progress, and remarkable successes were achieved.

I. The "Wait-and-see," "No-can-do," Wavering and Helpless Attitude Toward Serious Economic Crime Has Already Been Reversed; A Mounting Offensive, Breakthroughs in Large and Serious Cases, and a Wave of Successive New Prospects Have Emerged.

During a period prior to 1985 when procuratorial organs in numerous localities were cracking down on economic criminal activities, there existed an attitude of "prosecute corruption cases vigorously, wait-and-see on bribery cases, and no-can-do for speculation and profiteering cases." These three phrases reflect the difficult circumstances surrounding the handling of criminal cases at the time. The handling of large cases was difficult, as was the handling of small cases; placing a case on file for investigation was difficult, as was processing it according to the law. And in some cases, after the judicial organs completed their handling of the cases, there remained some people who claimed unfairness on the part of the criminal elements and remained determined to have them rehabilitated. Some people even praised bribe-takers and swindlers, dubbing them "pioneers" and "vanguards of reform." This caused a number of procuratorial cadre to shrink away from impartially executing the law, fear future reversals of a verdict, and commit errors themselves. In investigating and handling cases involving economic crimes, many procuratorial organs fell into a wavering and helpless state.

It was under these circumstances that we dealt with two controversial cases which affected the entire nation. We coordinated closely with the departments concerned, conducted investigative research, persevered in using the facts as a basis and the law as criteria, followed through to the end and got to the

bottom of things. One of these cases entailed the corruption and bribery case of Sun Yonggen [1327 3057 2704], former deputy director of the management committee for the Xinqiao Commune and concurrent party branch secretary of the Xinqiao Woollen Mill in Jiangyin County, Jiangsu Province. This was a case in which the facts were clear, the evidence conclusive, the findings accurate, and the measurement of penalty appropriate. Although this case should have been indisputable, there were still some people who published articles in newspapers and periodicals (dubbing them the six "B" cases), and sought to launch a nationwide discussion in the newspapers over the "rehabilitation of the brave reformer, Sun Yonggen." The other case entailed the bribery case of Wang Yi [3769 8381], an engineer with the Heilongjiang Province Center for Building Conditions. This also was a comparitively clear-cut case. However, some people confused the crackdown on economic crime with the implementation of the policy toward intellectuals, branded Wangyi's crime as a crackdown on the intelligentsia, and sought to rehabilitate him, thus temporarily throwing the matter into chaos. After we thoroughly investigated and handled these two cases, we achieved a breakthrough which gave strong impetus to the continuation of the procuratorial organs' fight to crackdown on serious economic crime.

From the latter half of 1984 to the first half of 1985, unhealthy tendencies concealed economic crime, economic crime made use of unhealthy tendencies, and serious economic crime was particularly glaring. At the same time, the fight to crackdown on serious criminal offenses had already achieved remarkable successes, public security had taken a clear turn for the better, and the full energies of our procuratorial organs had been turned toward the crackdown on economic crime. In June of 1985, we called upon procuratorial organs to make the crackdown on serious economic crime their primary task in carrying out an unrelenting crackdown on crime in general. Following the CPC Central Committee's decision to rectify new unhealthy tendencies, CPC committees at all levels bolstered their leadership role in the crackdown on economic crime while various financial management departments conducted major finance, tax revenue, and price inspections and acted to clean up and straighten out corporations. We acted quickly to seize this rich opportunity, issued notices on several occasions, and required procuratorial organs at all levels and under the unified leadership and organization of local CPC committees to closely coordinate major finance, tax revenue, and price inspections and the work to clean up and straighten out corporations, detect leads to cases, and investigate and deal with economic crimes. At the same time, we also emphasized the handling of large and serious cases in Guangdong, Gujian, Hebei, Henan, and so forth, and dispatched work groups or liaison groups to those places to confer in and guide the handling of cases. In this manner, we led procuratorial organs throughout the country in their work to handle these cases. Many of the major cases of the "wait-and-see," "no-can-do" variety which existed at the time were cracked one after another.

Over the past year, major changes have occurred in the situation surrounding the procuratorial organs' national crackdown on serious economic crime. The year 1985 saw the greatest 1-year total of economic crime cases investigated and handled in the recent past. During the latter half of the year in particular

progress became even faster as the number of cases placed on file increased significantly and included twice as many large and serious cases. According to statistics, between January and November 1985, procuratorial organs throughout the country filed and investigated a total of 26,772 economic crime cases, which represents a 24.7 percent increase over the same period of the preceeding year. This figure included a total of 5,937 large and serious cases, a more than twofold increase over the same period of the preceeding year. The number of economic criminal elements arrested totaled 14,229 people, while the number of those indicted totaled 12,711 people. The amount of economic losses recovered for the state exceeded 140 million yuan.

The "wait-and-see," "no-can-do" attitude is gone now, replaced by the initiative to attack these cases and the courage to investigate and handle them. The notion that no case can be handled has been replaced by the notion that there are cases that have yet to be handled. The morale of the numerous procuratorial cadres is high and enthusiasm is abundant. Favorable trends are developing continuously and breakthroughs are coming one after another. The record shows that our procuratorial organs have given priority to the work to crackdown on economic crime, making it the primary task of the times in accordance with the CPC Central Committee's guiding ideology, the requirements of the reform and of the policy of opening up to the outside and invigorating the domestic economy, and the mission and duties the law has entrusted the procuratorial organs with.

II. Key Experiences of The Past Year

1. Continuously heighten the awareness of the importance and urgency attached to the crackdown on economic crime, and make the crackdown on economic crime the primary mission of our procuratorial organs. In 1985, following the issuance by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council of "The Decision Concerning the Crackdown on Serious Crimes in the Economic Sphere," procuratorial organs in various localities became actively involved, investigating and handling a group of economic crime cases. In August 1983, after the fight to strictly crackdown on serious criminal offenses began, we put forward the requirement to "read a classic and sing an opera," thus making an all-out effort to join in the fight to crackdown on crime. This was a necessary action due to the abnormal state of public security at the time and the fact that the masses did not feel safe. From the latter half of 1984 forward, new unhealthy tendencies appeared and economic crime became rampant. In January 1985, we called upon procuratorial organs to simultaneously pursue the crackdown on crime in general and the crackdown on economic crime, requiring them to give priority to the crackdown on economic crime in special economic zones and in areas where economic crime was rampant. Keeping pace with the developing situation, we called upon procuratorial organs again in June to make the crackdown on economic crime their primary task in the unrelenting crackdown on crime in general. We particularly emphasized doing away with the two "opposing views" and correctly handling two relationships: the first entails eliminating the opposing views arising over the policy of opening up to the outside and invigorating the domestic economy and the crackdown on ecomonic crime, and

satisfactorily handling the "two hands" relationship by firmly establishing on the one hand support for the policy of opening up to the outside and invigorating the domestic economy and on the other hand a determined mindset to crackdown on economic criminal activities. The second entails eliminating the opposing views arising over the crackdown on economic crime and the crackdown on crime in general, and satisfactorily handling the "two crackdowns" relationship by continuing to strongly and expeditiously crackdown on serious criminal offenses according to the law while attaching more importance to the work of cracking down on economic crime.

2. Make the key points stand out, pay special attention to large and serious cases. The harm and effect of large and serious economic crime cases is great. In investigating and handling cases of this type, policy limits are in general comparatively easy to handle and obstacles are relatively few, which may reduce misgivings over the fear of mishandling cases. Practice shows that the handling of large cases producing severe repercussions for criminal elements, is of great use in the education of our cadres and the masses, and can result in further breakthroughs due to a trickle down effect. Therefore, we have all along stressed that large and serious cases must be handled first, arranging in order of importance and urgency the clues to those large serious cases already placed on file and under investigation, organizing our elite strength for handling cases, and with procurator-generals leading the way, pursuing cases with vigor, never letting up, making breakthroughs one by one and gradually opening up new prospects. Handle large cases first, because the more they are handled, the more confidence, momentum, and experience is gained while cases of that general class are also satisfactorily handled.

3. "Use the system, and the system will work well"--take a systematic approach to carrying out the work to clean up economic crime. This is an effective method which combines specialized organs with the mass line in the fight to crackdown on economic crime. In general, this process entails investigative research; the selection of cases on the basis of high frequency of occurrence, degree of harmfulness, and systems and features beset by roughly similar problems; the use of large and serious cases to forge a breakthrough and spur on the investigative and handling work for the entire system; and on the basis of self investigations and combined investigations within each system, the detection of clues in economic crime cases and the actual crackdown on serious economic criminal activity. For example, Hebei province last year obtained demonstrative results by focusing on false trademarks in the food, supply and marketing, and banking systems. Adopting the approach of "Use the system, and the system will work well" will not only cause the fight to continue, but can also lead those units in which cases have occurred to regain the initiative, thus making our road easier to travel.

4. Dare to meet resistance head-on, be adept at meeting resistance head-on, and break up contact networks and protective layers. In the crackdown against serious economic criminal activity, a small number of leading cadre and organizational units either because their thoughts on supporting the "two hands" are unclear and they believe that the crackdown on economic crime deviates from the core of our economic construction and, as a result, obstruct the policy

of opening towards the outside and invigorating the domestic economy, or because they proceed from the interests of a small clique, or because they themselves are impure and some have personal financial problems, not only fail to actively assist the procuratorial organs in investigating and handling cases, but impose interference from many sides and put up obstacles instead. Some of them run hither and thither, absolving themselves and pleading for mercy; some disregard the penal code and make a practice of committing crimes; some dictate the law by word or by authority, to the point of utilizing their official powers to shield criminal elements. In some cases, the degree of difficulty involved in breaking up the contact networks and protective layers was greater than in the investigation and handling of the cases themselves. Therefore, we must: 1) Uphold reliance upon the law, strict enforcement of the law, mandatory investigations into violations of the law, and impartial execution of the law; be beyond reproach, not be afraid of offending people, not be afraid of retaliation, and dare to meet resistance head-on. These are the qualities procuratorial cadres must possess. 2) We must accomplish investigative research work, ascertain the key details of a case, and support using facts as a basis and the law as criteria. So long as the evidence is conclusive, it will then be convincing. 3) CPC committees and higher-level procuratorial organs must be kept regularly apprised of the situation so as to gain their support. This way, any contact network or protective layer is capable of being broken up.

5. Strengthen specific applied law, policy research, and interpretation work. Under the new conditions surrounding the policy of opening up to the outside and invigorating the domestic economy, economic criminal activities have assumed many new traits and features. The limits of some laws and policies used in handling cases are not easily managed, which has affected the continuation of our fight. In light of this situation and on the basis of continued investigative and analytical research and the repeated solicitation of opinions, the Supreme People's Procuratorate and the Supreme People's Court jointly drafted "Answers to the Current Problems Involving Specific Applied Laws in Handling Economic Crime Cases," and in so doing rendered interpretations on limitation questions surrounding cases of corruption, bribery, speculation and profiteering, swindling, etc., provided the basis for a timely and accurate crackdown on economic crime, and assumed the role of an active catalyst.

6. Strengthen professional guidance, lead the fight to continue uninterrupted. 1) Work upwardly; have lower-level procuratorial organs submit reports on major and difficult cases to higher-level procuratorial organs, and then jointly research and solve the problems encountered in handling these cases. 2) Work downwardly; conduct investigative research, assist in handling cases, and strengthen professional guidance. The Supreme People's Procuratorate focused on the four key areas of Guangdong, Fujian, Hebei, and Henan, dispatched working groups on several occasions, provided consultation for and guided the handling of cases. We also broadly publicized the experiences of investigating and handling economic crime cases in such areas as Henan, Hebei, Shandong, Shanxi, Shaanxi, Gulin, Heilongjiang, and Guizhou.

7. Use model cases to serve as vivid teaching materials and conduct education to propagandize the legal system. In terms of pure significance, this is even more important than the actual investigation and handling of cases. Therefore, sum up experiences and conduct propaganda work in the same manner as the investigation and handling of cases--earnestly and meticulously. When making breakthroughs in large and serious cases, use model cases to serve as vivid teaching materials, bring to light varying circumstances, propagandize the legal system, and educate the cadres and the masses.

8. Rely on the leadership of the CPC committees, strike a blow in the all-out war to crackdown on serious economic crimes. The party's leadership is our fundamental guarantee which will enable us to be victorious in our fight. In practice, contact networks and protective layers in a number of major cases were broken up under the direct leadership of the CPC committees. The crackdown on economic crime is just like the crackdown on other criminal offenses: we cannot rely solely on the crackdown itself; comprehensive administration and various other efforts must be simultaneously strengthened. We cannot rely solely on the procuratorial organs and political departments; the entire party and all of society must become involved and take action. Only under the leadership of CPC committees at all levels can political departments and the departments concerned be led to act in concert, coordinate closely, wage an all-out war, and carry out the fight against common and serious economic criminal activity.

III. Since Economic Crime Remains Fairly Rampant, We Must Steadfastly Carry on the Fight to Crackdown on Serious Economic Crime

Although the fight to crackdown on serious economic crime has achieved remarkable successes over the past year, economic criminal activity remains quite rampant; the number of incidents is great, the damage is considerable, the methods involved are odious, and the circumstances are critical, on a scale rarely seen since the founding of this nation. The proportion of large cases involving over 10,000 yuan to the total number of economic crime cases has risen steadily. Some bribery cases have involved 100,000 yuan, corruption cases one million yuan, the resale of foreign exchange 10 million yuan, profiteering and speculation and swindling cases have surpassed 10 billion yuan, and smuggling and black marketeering are so widespread that people are shocked beyond belief. The main characteristics of contemporary economic criminal activity are:

1. Collusion between insiders and outsiders, collaboration from above and below, and the conditions for common crime are prominent. Contemporary economic crime almost always involves our internal units and cadres, and some cases have involved leadership cadre at the county level and above as well as numerous units. Employing money as they "universal key," criminal elements do not hesitate to use massive sums of money to bribe those state cadre who hold power in their hands, thereby opening up a link. After state workers accept a bribe, they use their authority to flash the green light to criminal elements, thus making it easy for them. Some criminal elements are fond of saying, "Use my money to buy your power, use your power to make my money."

2. Criminal activity which, under the names of various "corporations," "centers," and "trading firms," uses contracts or creates false contracts to engage in profiteering, speculation, and swindling is rampant. The names of some of these "corporations" is simply startling--"PRC," "International," "Global," or "Universal," they have them all. And the scale of this business is enormous. No matter what you want, they have, and no matter what you have, they will cheat you out of it. In reality, they have no capital, goods, or business space, and even with the "briefcases" there is no "briefcase company;" they simply specialize in signing contracts as a means for speculating, merchandising, and conducting profiteering and swindling activities.

3. Some government organs and units from state-run and collective enterprises have, in the interests of a small group or essentially in the interests of the individual, given into greed and forsaken righteousness by joining up and combining forces with society's lawless elements in the conduct of economic criminal activities on a large scale, thus harming the state and cheating the citizens. Because they carry the banner reform and collectivism and also use the signboards and capital of organs and units from enterprises to conceal illegal activities under the name of the law, they are much more fraudulent and harmful. The danger in this type of crime as opposed to crimes perpetrated by individuals is much greater.

4. Almost every time we set forth some new concrete policies or reform some particular systems, there are invariably some unlawful elements that use every possible device to change their tactics and come up with new ways to exploit the loopholes in new policies, systems, and administrations to conduct criminal activities. When the government implemented its reform of food purchase prices, they resorted to "parity means a negotiated price, and a negotiated price means exceeding the purchase price," and made off with the state's food purchase funds. When the government acted to reform the system for handling goods and materials, they bought and sold for profit those goods and materials that were in great demand so as to reap exorbitant profits. When the state implemented various special policies in special economic zones, they resorted to fleeing and circumventing foreign exchange restrictions, and smuggling and trafficking. When the state introduced its policy to reduce taxes on collective enterprises, they diverted the means of production and capital from state-run enterprises to collective enterprises, thus evading taxes and lining their own pockets or sharing it with the collectives.

5. Some persons with past records of misdoings are dubbed "able persons," and "Gods of Wealth," and are used again and again to commit crimes. In particular are some key members of the "Gang of Four" faction, who believe "In economics, one must reap profits," and have not become economic "upstarts."

There presently exists a group of unlawful elements who recklessly, unscrupulously, and with no regard for the consequences conduct criminal activities, are swollen with arrogance, and are extremely harmful. In economic terms, they have embezzled state and collective property, directly undermined the reform and the policy of opening up to the outside and invigorating the domestic

economy, and disrupted the building of a socialist economy. In political terms, they have damaged the prestige of our party and our socialist system, tread on the morale of society and the laws of the state, disturbed public security and social order, and disrupted a stable and united political situation. In ideological terms, they have contaminated the bodies of the party and the state, polluted the general mood of society, poisoned the minds of the people, and corrupted the cadres and masses. Some old cadre who have been in the party for many years and have held leadership positions did not duck under the hail of bullets, but instead got hit by the sugar-coated bullets, got dragged into the water, and degenerated into criminal elements. If our awareness about the seriousness and harmfulness of economic crimes is insufficient and these criminal elements are allowed to commit all kinds of outrages, this will prove to be extremely harmful and dangerous. The crackdown on economic crime is related to the life and death of our party and state; it is related to the rise-or-fall, victory-or-defeat struggle of the cause of socialism and cannot be slackened in the least bit. The entire party and all of society must take action, strike a blow in the all-out war to crackdown on economic crime, and resolutely bring down the swollen arrogance of criminal elements.

China's current political and economic conditions are very good. Following the National Conference of Party Delegates, the CPC Central Committee emphasized a simultaneous focus on the building of a socialist material civilization and a socialist spiritual civilization, and intensification of ideological and political work. Recently, the Central Committee decided to focus first on the problems of party character in central party, state, and military organs and in Beijing Municipal organs, aiming to achieve results within one-half to 1 full year. This has created the most favorable of conditions for the continued development of the fight to crackdown on economic crime. From the perspective of the work situation of the entire nation's procuratorial organs, the fight to crackdown on economic crime has already entered into a new era. The party rectification, the correction of new unhealthy tendencies, the major finance, tax revenue, and price inspections and the cleaning up and straightening out of corporations, as well as the judicial departments' investigation and handling of economic crime cases have combined to form the formidable strength of the crackdown on economic crime. Procuratorial organs at all levels must seize the favorable opportunity before us, earnestly sum up experiences and lessons, strive to consolidate and expand the favorable tendencies that have already appeared, continue to practice the guiding principle of complete and strict adherence to the law, conscientiously correct the phenomena involving weak efforts in the crackdown, vigorously pursue large and serious cases, increase comprehensive administrative work, and steadfastly persevere in the fight to crackdown on serious economic crime. The numerous procuratorial cadres must endure new hardships and tests in the fight, truly do what is right, remain uncorrupted, remain upright and outspoken, execute the law impartially, establish and maintain a good image of the procuratorial troops, and make new contributions to the defense and promotion of the socialist modernization drive.

13188/12851
CSO: 4005/784

ZHANG ZHIGUO ON HUMANITIES, SOCIAL SCIENCES

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 11, 25 Jun, 2 Jul 86

[Article by Zhang Zhiguo [1728 1807 0248]: "The Fall and Rise of Scientific Idols"]

[11 Jun 86 p 4]

[Text] Man needs idols as a drug to comfort the soul, as a spiritual prop in life. If an idol is removed from the pedestal, the result may be nothing short of disturbance and unrest. Academic researchers routinely pay lip service to independence and autonomy, but in reality they too fail to free themselves from the strictures of idolatry.

Before the mid-nineteenth century, the Western intellectual world was still in a tranquil state. Most experts in the humanities and social sciences followed the natural scientific method in their research. They subscribed to and regarded as absolute truth Newton's principles and Leibniz's mechanical determinism theory in physics. Idols, scientific idols, were deeply implanted in their consciousness and sustained their faith in their research. This explains why Comte's positivism attracted a swarm of followers as soon as it appeared. Newtonian physics, however, was undermined by the emergence of Non-Euclidean geometry and the appearance of the theory of relativity and quantum mechanics. The latter also exploded Leibniz's mechanical determinism theory. If classical physics was not totally correct, was the positivistic method based on it still reliable? Now that "the absolute truth" no longer existed, how could the idol that used to command public respect not collapse as well? Hence disturbances and unrest appeared until they engulfed the Western world of learning in the humanities and social sciences.

Scholars in the humanities and social sciences have begun to ponder this question anew: As part of natural science, can the positivistic method explain human society? Can the humanities and social sciences depend on the positivistic approach to lead them to truth? Heated debates and intense studies are under way in certain areas in the humanities and social sciences, including psychology, history, sociology, anthropology, and philosophy. In philosophy, some people (like Russell) have put forward a logical positivistic method, but there are dissenting voices, such as those of Bergson, who propounded a philosophy of life, and Husserl, who preached phenomenalism.

Apparently the opposition by psychologists before 1900 to the use of "numbers and measurements" to explain psychological phenomena was so strong that the 1926 annual conference on international psychological research had to devote time specifically to discuss the method. Comte's positivistic sociological thesis, too, faced a formidable challenge. The value of the "history-civilization" method and the "explanatory" method of science have again been reinterpreted by workers in the humanities and social sciences. The dethronement of the idols led to disturbance and unrest. In the wake of debates and explorations, the world of learning again came to life.

Debate naturally leads to no result, at least no consensual result. Philosophy and social sciences in the West still conduct academic inquiries along two different lines: One marches under the banner of the natural scientific method, the other puts its faith in the value of the humanistic method. Soviet scholars have severely criticized this methodological dichotomy, arguing instead for a marriage between the natural scientific and humanistic methods. In reality, however, it is not easy to bring about such a marriage. Today, at a time when natural science advances by leaps and bounds, the so-called "three old theories"--cybernetics, systems theory, and information theory--and the so-called "three new theories"--the dissipation structure theory, coordination theory, and catastrophe theory"--remain the idols of those who march to the beat of the natural scientific method. May be a day will come when the validity of the "three old theories" and "three new theories" is declared null and void, setting the stage for a new round of unrest. But the new natural scientific method that will arise will again be extolled as an idol.

I am not opposed to the introduction of new natural scientific methods into humanistic and social science research, since modern research in history, literature, and communications also applies cybernetics, systems and information theories, and mathematical models. But history is a mirror. Extolling natural science as an idol and looking to it as a "prop," after all, is not the only way out for the humanities and social sciences. Kant was the first to consider the distinction between nature and human society and to draw lines of demarcation between natural law and social law. In studying human society, Karl Marx did not simplistically apply natural law. Instead, he founded the theory of historical materialism embodying the special qualities of human society by building on the achievements of natural science. The development of modern natural science is a spur to the development of the humanities and social sciences. It is perfectly possible for the humanities and social science to find their own path of development--if only they rid themselves of idolatry and the mentality of dependency.

[25 Jun 86 p 4]

[Text] One often hears this theory being trotted out on various occasions: "Only by allowing people to debate (and contend) fully and freely can we demonstrate intellectual dynamism." Clearly this saying is correct. But still I feel that something is lacking. Whether it be "argue" or "contend," their major function is to state one's views, not to give birth to a theory. The motto-like thesis--"It is in debate that truth is stated clearly"--sums up most neatly the function of this kind of intellectual debate.

An intellectual debate often revolves around a book or the viewpoint or idea of a particular person who has passed away. What does Lu Xun's "The True Story of A Q" really reflect? Does Li Yu's ci really have an affinity to the people? Whose ideas come closest to explaining "the essence of beauty"-- Zhu Guangqian [2612 0342 3383], Cai Yi [5591 0308], Li Zehou [2621 3419 0624], or Gao Ertai's [7559 1422 1132]? We cannot say that there have been few intellectual debates like these since the liberation, nor that they lack intensity. Once a debate takes shape, it also animates the intellectual world. But this kind of debate is only a debate. It does nothing more than liven up the atmosphere. What is "beauty?" This has remained the focus of debates in China's aesthetic circles. Words have been bandied about, creating a semblance of excitement and vitality. It is true that out of these debates emerged the four major schools of thought represented by Zhu Guangqian, Cai Yi, Li Zehou, and Gao Ertai, but all their theories can be found in Western aesthetics. Today Zhu Guangqian has passed away and Li Zehou has announced that he is "retiring" from the debate. But their ideas are still being stated and restated. Many a time they even appear as debaters in the aesthetic community.

Books are where genius has left its mark. They embody the thoughts of thinkers and constitute a forum where truth discoverers explain their findings. Intellectual inquiries and debates may revolve around books, but the value of such activities is at most that of rediscovering a meaning and reaffirming its position in history and reality. Even when a debate does occur, perhaps even heatedly, it is only a case of someone rediscovering a point in a book which another person does not agree with or of two or more people assessing a book or a genius differently. If this kind of inquiry is what intellectual development depends on for its momentum, and if it is what sustains intellectual vigor, then the future does not look bright. Certainly we are not saying that we do not want such research. The question is whether or not we should consider it the only intellectual approach.

We derive most of our knowledge from books. Books transmit to us the thoughts of geniuses and of our forefathers. That is how we become thinking human beings. Unfortunately, these thoughts do not belong to us. If we plunge into the fray of intellectual inquiry and debate thus equipped, we will be merely rehashing others' ideas, putting forward an additional argument to buttress an existing theory. This might have been very valuable in Confucian scholarship, but I am highly skeptical about its actual value these days. From book to book, from concept to concept--herein probably lies an important reason why the humanities and social sciences are so backward in China. After the United States obtained its independence, the philosopher Emerson delivered a famous speech titled "The American Scholar" to university students in the city of Cambridge, At the outset he said, "Our long intellectual apprenticeship to other nations during which we are slavishly dependent is fast coming to an end. Millions of people around us have thrown themselves into life with all its vigor. They cannot forever pick up phrases from somebody and pass them off as their own." This is a "declaration of intellectual independence by the United States" It is exactly this unwillingness to remain dependent and be apprenticed to other nations that has propelled learning in the United States and spurred its natural science,

humanities, and social sciences to pursue their own unique development course. Do we also need a declaration of intellectual independence today?

We carry a heavy intellectual burden, part of it is China's long civilization, part of it the legacy of many years of national isolation. So we are saddled with a dual mission--sorting out the national classics and understanding the world. With this burden, we find ourselves either buried under a mountain of ancient scripts or afloat in a sea of foreign texts; one needs to be sorted out, the other has to be digested. When then can we find the time to do our own modern original creation? The essence of intellectual dynamism is original creation. It is not original creation to repeat the ideas of a genius or of someone from the past, or to pick up phrases from somebody and pass them off as our own. To be originally creative, we cannot but face life and keep track of what people do and experience. To serve reality, we must adapt to the times through creation based on life. To develop theories, we need even more to follow life to bring about original creation. During World War II, U.S. anthropologists studied the Japanese character using documented materials. Only when they conducted in-depth studies in Japan after the war did they discover that their original perceptions did not accord with realities. As a result, their conclusions, originally intended to be the basis for postwar U.S. policies toward Japan, failed to produce any real impact. We should learn a lesson from this experience. I hope to see a lively intellectual scene where original creation flourishes, but not a situation where debates rage over the rehashing of other people's ideas. Contemporary scholars should be the creators of ideas and theories and the discoverers of truth. They should not restate old ideas without being creative, or be mere "consultants."

[2 Jul 86 p 4]

[Text] We have always been most careful to avoid the word, "opportunity," for fear of being suspected of "promoting idealism." In fact, opportunity means no more than fortuity. Inevitability and fortuity are antithetical to each other. Without fortuity, there can be no inevitability. "If there is no tiger in the mountains, the monkey will reign supreme." This reveals the notion of opportunity. Under the "law of inevitability," it should be the tiger which dominates the mountains. Yet because it so happens that there is no tiger in the mountains, the monkey gets the opportunity to be king "fortuitously."

The notion of taking advantage of opportunity occurred to Westerners as early as the Middle Ages. This is because some gamblers often had difficulty predicting the outcomes of their wagers. Pascal, the 16th century French mathematician, was once a gambler wallowing in worldly pleasures. His daily gambling activities set him thinking: What are a gambler's odds of winning when a game stops at any point in time? With that as a starting point, he actually went on to invent the probability theory with another mathematician, Fermat. The theory of probability is concerned with randomness. Although its aim is to deduce general laws from random natural and social phenomena, it also recognizes the randomness and irregularity in nature and society. Newtonian physics takes causality as its point of departure and therefore rejects randomness and irregularity; all things are thought to have an

inevitable cause-and-effect relationship. The advancement of the theory of relativity and experiments in quantum physics discover the probability world of materials. Observed from the perspective of probability relations, the quality of randomness stands a better chance of being known to more people. This is exactly what gave birth to probability theory of the 17th century which was not extensively applied until this century. From opportunity studies to the founding of the theory of probability to its extensive application--this progression represents, to my mind, a consolidation and a quantum leap in human understanding of opportunity.

To talk about opportunity in learning was once considered a dangerous thing. But academic research itself is replete with opportunities. [Bei Fu Li Ji's] book "The Art of Scientific Research" has a chapter on opportunity in which he illustrates opportunity in scientific discovery with 10 examples, such as the discovery by Gramm, a Danish physician, of a process of staining bacteria, Hopkins' discovery of tryptophan resolution, and [He Si Te's] finding that the influenza virus can make the red blood cells of chickens coagulate, etc. To acknowledge opportunity is not to deny inevitability and regard everything as mysterious and unpredictable. Inevitability cannot be ignored. Pasteur says it well, "In the field of observation, opportunity favors those who come intellectually prepared." To any researcher, intellectual preparation is the embodiment of inevitability. But facts tell us that there is nothing inevitable about scientific discoveries and inventions, no matter how well prepared the researcher. An important reason here is that new theories do not inevitably spring forth from old theories, and new knowledge is not necessarily deduced from old knowledge. Indeed [Bei Fu Li Ji] argues, "New knowledge often originates in some accidental observation or fortuitous event in the research progress." An accidental happening may shed light on an area where existing knowledge does not lead the researcher and makes him the father of new knowledge.

Opportunity is an unexpected extraordinary event and is therefore irrational. Robert Merton, the U.S. sociologist, has put forward a theory for an opportunity model. This theory questions the "logical model" that we have always regarded as correct. (Under the logical model, one starts with a hypothesis, makes inferences from it, submits it to various tests, and then validates or rejects it based on experience.) What one discovers fortuitously often contradicts one's earlier hypothesis and points up a new direction for exploration. At this juncture the starting point for research is no longer a hypothesis but a fortuitous discovery made in the course of research. This opportunity becomes the starting point for theoretical creation or elaboration. Since a fortuitous discovery arises in the course of research and observation (as demonstrated by [Bei Fu Li Ji's] examples), it is based on experience and observation. Hence we can see that although one must deviate from the logical model to emphasize opportunity, that is not idealism. On the contrary, it raises the point that researchers should pay attention to experience, research, and observation. This is because opportunity is something we usually come across by chance in practice. And, under certain circumstances, an opportunity is frequently the incubator of new theories.

We often laugh at the man in the Song dynasty who "stood by the stump waiting for more hares to come and dash themselves against it." It is foolish to see

some kind of inevitable regularity in a fortuitous event, but the smart person who operates by the law of inevitable regularity will not have predicted that a running hare would dash against a stump and get killed either. Opportunity has no place in logical deduction. It is a product of practice, of observing life. To grasp opportunities is effectively to keep a watchful eye on life in all its diversity, on practice with all its richness. Compared to life, theory is always grey. To pursue life's fortuitous events and opportunities, theory cannot but constantly follow life, which is ever-changing, and provide it with fore-warnings.

12581
CSO: 4005/957

ROTATIONAL SYSTEM FOR LEADING CADRES SUGGESTED

Shenyang LILUN YU SHIJIAN [THEORY AND PRACTICE] in Chinese No 9, 6 May 86 pp 17-18

[Article by Wang Jicong [3769 4949 5115] and Ji Yangzhou [1213 7402 3166]: "Establish and Perfect a System of Periodic Rotation of Leading Cadres"]

[Text] In the past few years, we have made important progress in consolidating and readjusting the leading bodies at various levels, in making the ranks of cadres more revolutionary, younger, better educated and professionally more competent, in breaking the life tenure of leading cadre positions and in achieving cooperation between old and new cadres and succession of the new to the old. The leading bodies have improved considerably not only in age and cultural composition but in intellectual structure as a whole. However, party committees and governments at all levels still have not paid enough attention to establishing and perfecting a system for periodic exchange and rotation of leading cadres.

The situation is almost universal: Many principal leading cadres have worked for a long time in the same place, the same department and even the same unit, and local cadres have held major leading positions in local party and government organizations for a long time, ranging from over 10 years to several decades. These cadres are familiar with the local conditions, which is helpful in work, but there are also drawbacks. First, their long terms of office in one place results in the formation of complicated relations with superiors, subordinates, relatives, friends and in-laws, complex organizational affiliations and even factional forces. This is an important source of unhealthy party style, as well as an important manifestation of unhealthy party style in itself. Second, "inbreeding" results in favoritism and the formation of personal followings, which is detrimental to the development of cadres with both ability and moral integrity for the four modernizations. Third, newly promoted cadres are likely to find many former superiors among their colleagues in leading bodies. As a result, they tend to stick to the old ways, do as they are told and fail to fully utilize their intelligence, creativity and initiative. Fourth, it tends to result in narrow localism and discrimination against cadres who are not native to the locality. This is not conducive to strengthening inner-party unity and mobilizing the positive factors among cadres "from all over the country," but will encourage the spreading of

unhealthy trends in organizational and personnel work. Fifth, a cadre who has worked in one place for a long time is familiar with local conditions, knows his way around and enjoys the loyalty of subordinates, and it seems easy to reach an agreement between him and his subordinates. But, in the long run, an inertia is bound to develop in them, and their thinking will become gradually ossified and conservative, preventing them from broadening their vision, developing their abilities and creating a new situation in work. To solve these problems, we feel that in addition to regular education of party-member cadres in party style and discipline, it is necessary to implement a system of periodic exchange and rotation of leading cadres as soon as possible.

Recently party committees at various levels have to varying degrees come to see the importance in rotating leading cadres, and actions have been taken to have some leading cadres rotated, but the number is small, and even smaller is the number of principal leading cadres rotated. There is still resistance against rotation, and practical problems demand prompt solutions. To further improve the system of periodical interchange and rotation of leading cadres so that it will develop soundly on the right track, it is necessary in the light of the present state of leading bodies at all levels to pay attention to the following questions at present and for some time to come.

1. It is necessary to increase our understanding of the need to implement the system of periodic exchange and rotation of leading cadres. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out: "It is good for some people to be transferred to some other suitable place, know more about the situation and act more carefully when something happens. It short, it is not good to stay in one place too long." Periodical rotation of leading cadres is an important measure to get rid of factionalism, localism and mountain-stronghold mentality, an effective way to correct the unhealthy practices in cadre personnel management, and a powerful driving force as well as pressure to stimulate leading cadres to get rid of the baggage, start up the machine, forge ahead courageously and strive for results. Comrade Mao Zedong had personally presided over the rotation of the commanders of the eight military regions and strengthened the armed forces. Today, as the cadre personnel system is being further reformed, we should pay even greater attention to the rotation system, place it on the agenda of important matters of party committees and governments at all levels, give intensive publicity to the great significance of the periodic rotation of leading cadres, and make sure that it is implemented as an important part of the reform of the cadre personnel management system.

2. It is necessary to have a realistic, feasible and effective rotation plan. Periodic rotation of leading cadres is an extremely serious matter and should be handled in a well-planned way. Therefore, party committees and governments at all levels should draw up long-term plans on who will be rotated and when and to where, and make short-term arrangements for implementation. We feel that the persons to be rotated should be mainly leading party and government cadres at and above the county level aND major responsible persons of departments directly in charge of personnel, money and supplies, and that the time of their periodic rotation should be based on the terms of office to which they are elected by the relevant congresses. Those elected to a 3-year term should not be reelected more than two times. Those elected to 4-year or 5-year terms generally should not be reelected more than once, and under extraordinary circumstances not more than two times. Periodic rotation can be

carried out in swaps, transfers, reassignments and other forms and ways. At the same time, it is necessary to strengthen the organization and implementation work for the leading cadres being rotated, helping them solve practical problems caused by their rotation, and do good ideological and educational work among them so that they will gladly accept rotation according to plans and arrangements made by their organizations.

3. In the periodic rotation of leading cadres, attention should be paid to breaking their "personal connections." To break the "personal connections" in cadre personnel work, it is necessary to follow the principle of avoiding "native place," "relatives" and "friends" in arranging leading cadres' work posts. To avoid "native place," local officials, particularly principal leading cadres at the county and township levels, should not work in their native places. To avoid "relatives," one should not work in the same unit, same department and especially the same leading body with one's father, sons, brothers, sisters, husband, wife and other relatives to the extent possible. To avoid "friends," one should not serve as a leading cadre in the same department and same leading body for too long with too many old comrades, acquaintances, superiors and friends. Only in this way will it be possible to organizationally eliminate the complex "personal connections" step by step and help bring about a fundamental turn for the better in party style and social conduct.

4. It is necessary to strengthen the evaluation of leading cadres to know how they are doing. To implement periodical rotation of leading cadres, it is imperative to strengthen the evaluation of their performance. Their moral integrity and ability should be used as the basic criterion, and the fulfillment of their personal responsibilities should be taken as the major basis, to make a comprehensive evaluation of their moral integrity, competence, work attendance and achievements. To have a good idea of every leading cadre's work, ability, thinking and character as the basis for a rotation plan, the leadership needs to keep in touch with the masses and pay attention to each cadre on a regular basis, in addition to periodic evaluations.

In short, the periodic rotation of leading cadres involves many people and faces many problems. However, if we actively probe ahead, boldly move on, do patient and meticulous ideological and political work, really solve the practical problems and see the task of the rotation of leading cadres in the light of its importance to the four modernizations and the fundamental improvement of the party's work style, we certainly can keep it going and making new progress.

12802/9312
CSO: 4005/911

'FOUR TRANSFORMATIONS,' DEVELOPMENT OF YOUNG CADRES LINKED

Harbin FENDOU [STRUGGLE] in Chinese No 7, 1 Jul 86 p 10

[Article by Li Qinglin [2621 3237 2651]: "The 'Four Transformations' Principle on Cadres and the Development of Young Cadres"]

[Text] To become really useful and accomplish something young cadres cannot be without the guidance of the principle that cadres should become more revolutionary, younger, better educated and professionally more competent. Implementation of the "four transformations" principle for cadres has created very favorable conditions for the sound development of young cadres. In other words, the "four transformations" cadre principle and the development of young cadres are closely linked.

First, the revolutionary nature of the "four transformations" cadre principle requires that young cadres must first of all improve their political quality. The principle gives full expression to the dialectical unity of political integrity and ability on the premise of revolutionization. This is an important idea consistently stressed by the party Central Committee. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out emphatically at the party's national conference: "What is most important for the young and the middle-aged cadres in succeeding to the old is to emulate their heroic spirit of maintaining the revolutionary struggle." Now, some comrades hold that "revolutionization" is something "empty" and "soft," and that education and specialization are "real" and "solid." Therefore, they ignore the study of basic Marxist theories and the party's principles and policies, the tempering of party spirit and the improvement of political quality. This is very dangerous. Young cadres must strive conscientiously to improve their political quality, setting strict demands on themselves and constantly tempering their party spirit. Those young cadres with leadership responsibilities, in particular, must pass the tests of "power," "personal feelings" and "money," follow the principle of democratic centralism conscientiously, accept supervision by both superiors and subordinates willingly, and be good public servants of the people.

Second, the practical nature of the "four transformations" cadre principle requires that young cadres must make contributions and accomplish things for the people. Some young cadres fail to concentrate their efforts on their own work, but are concerned only about what the organization and the masses think

of them, and this has adversely affected their development. In judging whether a cadre meets the "four transformations" requirements, the party bases its judgment mainly on the cadre's practice and real achievements in work. Therefore, one should not passively complain about poor environment and conditions, but should wonder whether one has made enough subjective efforts. There is no shortcut for young cadres to meet the "four transformations" requirements. They must make concentrated efforts to do their own jobs well and work conscientiously and in a down-to-earthy way to bring benefit to the people and make contributions to the four modernizations.

Third, the wholeness of the "four transformations" cadre principle requires that young cadres must temper themselves in an all-around way. The "four transformations" of cadres are an organically linked whole, and not a single one of them can be dispensed with. Every cadre must use the "four transformations" principle to measure himself as a whole. Being strong in one of the four aspects cannot make up for weakness in the other three. Generally speaking, young cadres have many strong points and advantages. For example, they have some advantages in age and culture, are more active and less conservative in thinking, have greater courage in blazing new trails and so forth. But they also have weak points and disadvantages. Generally they have not been tempered long enough in social and party life, do not have enough experience and so forth. Young cadres should not use their strong points to compare with others' weak points and seek no progress because they have some strong points, but neither should they see only their shortcomings, lose sight of their strong points and become disheartened. Practice can be any number of things. For young cadres, practice in work at the grassroots level is especially important. Therefore, young cadres who have not yet tempered themselves at the grassroots level should do so now. Even those who have tempered themselves at the grassroots level should go back there from time to time to get a deeper understanding of the actual conditions and supplement and improve their book knowledge and professional skills.

Fourth, the protracted nature of the implementation of the "four transformations" principle requires young cadres to have a firm and indomitable spirit and be mentally prepared to receive a long period of tempering. The "four transformations" of cadres is not only the goal of our protracted struggle, but also a process to strengthen the ranks of our cadres. They cannot be accomplished over night on a crash basis. The concrete substance of the "four transformations" of cadres and the objective requirements of the socialist modernization drive. This calls for young cadres not only to stand firmly at present, seize every minute and speed up their own tempering, but to plan far into the future with confidence, determination and the spirit of the Foolish Old Man to wage a protracted struggle.

12802/9312
CSO: 4005/911

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION REGIONAL AFFAIRS

GUANGDONG LAUNCHES PARTY RECTIFICATION IN TOWNSHIPS

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 15 Aug 86 p 1

[Article by Feng Yuluan [7458 0060 7762], Chen Zixia [7115 1311 1115], and Yang Changliao [2799 7022 6697]: "Party Cadres Sent to Countryside to Assist with Party Rectification"]

[Text] Guangdong Province has launched rural party rectification at the township level across the board. In recent days, liaison workers trained by the province, prefectures, and counties have successively fanned out across the province to assist party committees at all levels to do a good job in township-level party rectification.

The latest round of rural party rectification at the township level is the largest and most extensive such effort since party rectification began in 1983. It is also the last round of rectification. Taking part in it are over 26,000 party branches, or half of all party branches in the province, and a total of 930,000 party members, 40 percent of Guangdong's total party membership. To do the various rectification tasks well from start to finish, municipal (prefectural) party committees in Guangzhou, Hainan, Shantou, Zhaoqing, Jiangmen, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Foshan, Maoming, Zhanjiang, Shaoguan, Huiyang, and Mei County as well as party committees in the Li and Miao Autonomous Prefectures on Hainandao have been convening party rectification working conferences for their localities since late July to consider and plan party rectification work at the township level. They believe that successful party rectification at the township level has profound significance for promoting the construction of the two civilizations in the countryside in Guangdong, furthering rural reform, and vitalizing the economy. Armed with experience in county and district rectification and from pilot projects in township party rectification, which provide favorable conditions for party rectification at the township level, they are fully confident that they will succeed and are determined to take feasible, practical measures in accordance with the provincial party committee's plan to do a good rectification job at the township level, upholding high standards and making stringent demands.

The provincial party committee takes this round of township-level party rectification in the rural areas very seriously. It has assigned 5,000 party members and cadres from organizations directly under the province to form 15 liaison groups and 3 inspection groups, and dispatched them to localities

across the province to work together with liaison groups, made up of 3,000 party members and cadres and sent by various municipalities (prefectures), counties, and districts, in order to assist party committees and party branches everywhere in party rectification.

In separate speeches to the working conference for township-level party rectification liaison workers, Wang Ning [3769 1337] and Guo Rongchang [6753 2837 2490], deputy provincial party secretaries and vice chairmen of the party rectification guiding group, emphasized that the workers must understand the guiding ideas on party rectification clearly and help local party organizations do a good party rectification job by adhering to high standards. They hope that everybody would enhance his sense of honor and responsibility as a liaison worker and accomplish the mission entrusted to him by the provincial party committee outstandingly.

12581
CSO: 4005/958

SOUTHWEST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

RELAXED ATMOSPHERE ADVOCATED FOR LEADERS, REFORMERS

Nation's Future Seen in Reform

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by Zong He [1350 0735]: "Reformers Are Humans, Not Gods: On Creating a Relaxed Environment for Reform"]

[Text] Coming under greater and greater censure and criticism, many dedicated reformers helplessly lament the "tough going." At the outset, it was predicted by some people that reform would come to no good end. As if the prediction had come true, some reformers have indeed been "hit by the arrow and thrown from their horses." Those still "hanging on" are running into obstacles left and right and find the going rough. Meanwhile, some enterprises are no longer so prosperous. The situation tells us that reform urgently needs a relaxed environment. If only by carrying out reform will there be hope and a future, then only by creating a relaxed environment will it be possible to carry out reform.

When it comes to reform, it seems that it is supported by everyone, but in practical life, there is an incomprehensible odd phenomenon: in spite of wrong decisions, poor operation, and losses to the enterprise, those sticking to conventions and "acting according to regulations" remain safe and sound and keep all their "benefits" intact, while, in spite of results and achievements, those vigorously carrying out reform and courageously exploring new moves invariably incur criticisms. Discussing the difficulties, a fairly well-known reformer declared emotionally: "There are too many instances of one person doing the work, two persons writing letters to the higher level, and four persons making an investigation." His words seem to be an exaggeration, but people of the following type are not rare in actual life: they fail to see the heavy burden, labor, achievements, and contributions of reformers, but seize upon their trivial defects and dwell on them, somewhat in the spirit of "picking bones in the egg." It is not entirely correct to say that there is malice, but even if it is for the sake of "curing the illness to save the patient," the "surgery" to "cure the illness" is actually more frightening than the "illness." A reformer declared: "I am willing to die of exhaustion, but not of persecution." How much bitterness in these words!

As the saying goes, "no gold is pure; no man is perfect." No need for reticence, reformers indeed have shortcomings and make mistakes, but they are humans, not gods! Reportedly gods are omnipotent, but whether in Greek mythology or China's ancient myths, we can easily see that gods also miscalculated

at times. Even gods make mistakes, let alone humans! Lu Xun said more than 5 decades ago: "The theory that only if all revolutionary troops are totally correct and clear in all their soldierly consciousness can the contingent be deemed a true revolutionary army, otherwise it is worthless and appears to be proper and thorough at first glance, but it is an impossible problem and a form of hollow preaching and a sweet medicine poisonous to the revolution." If we apply the meaning of these words to today's reformers, then perhaps we will not feel so indignant over their shortcomings and mistakes.

The work undertaken by reformers is totally new. There are neither readymade models to follow nor the experiences of predecessors as references. It requires groping in practice and progress in exploration, and groping itself includes successes and setbacks.

Problems, including shortcomings and mistakes, should be promptly pointed out, and enthusiastic help rendered, in order to enable the reformers to progress more steadily. Nevertheless, there is today an issue calling for attention: rather than any major mistakes on their part, undeserved calamities befall the reformers just because their measures infringe on the interests of certain people. There is another situation: because of the millstone of old habits, some people frown on new things, or because of preconceived ideas, prejudices, or even jealousy, they gossip and comment all day long. On the other hand, though competent in their work, most reformers have no means to defend themselves and are easily victimized by plots. An 8-cent stamp created such a furor! This type of instances is not rare. If the situation is not corrected, there can be no relaxed environment.

It has been suggested that leaders dedicated to reform be cherished in politics, supported in theory, and protected by system. All these are indispensable to the creation of a relaxed environment. While doing so, especially today, what is most urgent is that higher-level leaders make a clear-cut stand to support reform, protect reformers, and treat them fairly. Those "hit by the arrow and thrown from their horses" should be helped to remount, and those suffering injustice should be rehabilitated. China's future is in reform, and the fate of reformers is closely linked with our times. Doing their very best, they have made important contributions to our economic construction. Same as everyone else, they are of flesh and blood and need understanding, support, protection, and help!

'Major Practical Significance' Cited

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jul 86 pp 1, 4

[Article by Shen Qiping [3099 0796 1627]: "Strive To Create a Relaxed and Harmonious Environment"]

[Text] Recently, the leading comrades of the Central authorities have many times said: We must strive to create a relaxed and harmonious environment. What is meant by a relaxed and harmonious environment is an environment of unity, friendship, mutual trust, and mutual understanding. This is the correct policy for making literature and art flourish, enlivening theory, and developing science. It is also an important guiding idea for correctly

handling and solving the problem of thinking and understanding among the people. It is extremely important to comprehend deeply and to implement conscientiously and thoroughly this policy in order to promote the development in depth of all reforms and to usher in a new situation in socialist modernization.

The ideological content of the relaxed and harmonious environment discussed here means: the disputes among the people between various different opinions must be approached in the manner of seeking truth from facts, and the problems of various different ideas and understandings among the people must be approached in the manner of seeking truth from facts. With regard to literary and artistic creations, theoretical explorations, and scientific research, we must permit different artistic forms and different artistic styles to exist freely, and permit different schools and sects to dispute freely. During the debates and explorations of these different artistic forms and styles, schools and sects, we must not wilfully raise them to the higher plane of principle and line, not slap political labels on people right and left, not come down with the big stick on people indiscriminately, and not criticize and attack people from all sides, but rather treat people on the basis of equality, convince people by reasoning, and jointly seek truth. We must let people retain different viewpoints even if they are mistaken viewpoints, and not force views on people or compel them to submit, letting people receive an education amid practice and heighten their understanding. This policy is perfectly consistent with the spirit and demands of the "double hundred" policy. In essence, it is a further implementation under the new circumstances of the specific demands of the "double hundred" policy, and holds firmly to the continuation and development of the "double hundred" policy. It tallies with the objective laws of the development of ideological theory and of science and culture, and reflects the common aspirations of the great number of workers in literature and art, theory, and science. Although this policy directly addresses the work in ideological theory and in science and culture, its significance is far from being limited to the domains of ideological theory and of science and culture. With regard to the entire poilitical life and with regard to the ideological and political leadership on all fronts, we should advocate and strive to form a democratic, harmonious, and friendly environment, and form an atmosphere in which there is mutual trust, mutual understanding, and mutual support and in which people are of one heart and one mind.

At present, the setting forth and stressing of the policy of relaxation and harmony is of major practical significance. First of all, this policy will help to consolidate and develop the stable, united political situation. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the focus of work was shifted. Our main task became to concentrate forces on economic construction and on reforms in all fields. This required a stable, united political situation, a relaxed, harmonious political environment, so that people could concentrate their full attention on all construction and reform undertakings, and with one heart and one mind make contributions to the development of productive forces. Next, the policy is able to better arouse the enthusiasm of all quarters to engage in the four modernizations with one heart and one mind. Socialist modernization is an unprecedented, magnificent undertaking, and to build socialism with distinctive Chinese features is a brand-new historical task. We face many new situations and new problems. Under the circumstances in which there are no experiences of any predecessor to draw on, we are required to display the spirit of courageously forging

ahead, to boldly explore, boldly blaze new trails, boldly reform, and in practice to open up a path for advance. It will be hard to avoid having both successes and failures. We must not welcome successes only and not permit failures, even striking down someone once he makes an error. This would certainly dampen people's enthusiasm and zeal for dedicating themselves to the four modernizations. We should permit people to sum up their experiences amid failures and continue to advance. Without a relaxed, harmonious environment it will be impossible to do this. Finally, this policy will help to strengthen and improve ideological and political work in the new period. It should be seen that, because of the influence of the "leftist" ideology over a long period of time, some of our comrades, in their views on certain problems in the ideological field, are always constrained by the old stuff of the past and set too much store on them. They often, consciously or unconsciously, want to put a little tighter stress on them, frequently want to do a little more "criticism" of them, and so forth. This not only makes relations between people extremely tense, but also hinders the progress of the four modernizations. Based on the policy of relaxation and harmony, in our ideological and political work we must abandon these outmoded concepts, and, in accordance with the laws of development of ideology itself, put the work into the bottom of people's hearts and give play to its role of inspiring people to advance bravely. In these years, because our political life has been constantly strengthened, the democratic system has been perfected day by day, the practice of large-scale class struggle and political movements has been refuted, and the people really feel at ease in their minds. They are radiating vigor, and there is a greater upsurge in their zeal for dedicating themselves to the four modernizations. As a result there have appeared flourishing phenomena on all fronts. We deeply believe that by better creating a relaxed, harmonious, and friendly environment and atmosphere, a spring of beautiful flowers will be brought to the ideological and cultural fronts.

Looking back on the history of our party, in this respect there are many experiences and lessons worth remembering. In particular, in 1956, after our country had basically completed the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, our party correctly saw that the principal contradiction was no longer the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie, but was rather the contradiction between the people's need for the swift development of the economy and culture and the fact the economy and culture then could not satisfy the people's needs, and that the principle task of all people in the country was to concentrate their strength on developing productive forces. Under this ideological guidance, Comrade Mao Zedong published the article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" in which he proposed the correct distinguishing and handling of the two different types of contradictions in a socialist society, and made the correct handling of the contradictions among the people the theme of the country's political life. He further pointed out that we must "create a political situation that has both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unified will and individual ease of mind and vividness." At the same time he set forth the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," stipulating the correct policy toward intellectuals and toward educational, scientific, and cultural work. This greatly kindled the people's zeal for building socialism, and advantageously promoted a vigorous development of the socialist cause.

However, good times don't last long. Because of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in his old age, in our party there occurred in a row a series of faults. In 1957 antirightism was seriously magnified, and in 1959 the party mistakenly launched an "antirightist" struggle. In 1962, during the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee, the party not only affirmed that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was the principal contradiction in China's society, but also asserted categorically that during the entire historical stage of socialism the bourgeousie would exist and try to restore the old order. At this time, although the "double hundred" policy existed in form, in reality it had been abolished. Therefore, in the ideological domain there appeared a mistaken and excessive political criticism of some literary and artistic works and academic viewpoints and of some representative academic figures in literary and artistic circles. In the approach to intellectuals and to educational, scientific, and cultural questions, there occurred more and more serious "leftist" deviations, so that later they developed into the fuse for the "Great Cultural Revolution." As for the disasters that the "Great Cultural Revolution" caused in the ideological domain, everybody knows about them. This state of affairs ideologically, politically, and economically plunged our party and country into a crisis that was close to a hopeless situation. This was a bitter historical lesson. It told us that among the people, no matter whether in the ideological domain or on the political and economic fronts, there must be a relaxed, harmonious, friendly environment. By putting this kind of policy into effect we will be conforming to the objective laws of the development of thinking and understanding, and it will be advantageous for the development of science and culture and of all undertakings.

Reflecting on the past in the light of the present, how important is the thorough implementation of the policy of relaxation and harmony! Today, when our party is conscientiously summing up historical experiences, again proposing the creation of a relaxed, harmonious environment, and better implementing the "double hundred" policy, in all our work, particularly in the ideological domain of literature and art, theory, and scientific research, the question of how comprehensively, correctly, and thoroughly to implement this policy of the party's is really an extremely important and complex question. In approaching this question, we by no means must repeat past lessons by approaching it in a sweeping, crude, and oversimple fashion. Based on different circumstances, to differentiate certain levels and, in accordance with the party's policy, to deal with each on its own merits is perhaps a feasible method. For example, in dealing with works of literature and literary and artistic phenomena, we can consider the differentiation of several kinds of layers: one kind is the type we should advocate, namely, works that display the construction of the four modernizations, display reforms, eulogize the new people and new things of socialism, and display the spirit of the era and the spirit of the nation. This type of work can give people more education, inspiration, and strength, so that our people will be able to pluck up their fighting will, and with one heart and one mind dedicate themselves and make contributions to the four modernizations. The second is one that we should permit. This type of work has a certain aesthetic value. It can please one's mind and delight one's spirit, give people an enjoyment of the beautiful, give people diversions, and also give people knowledge. In brief, it can satisfy the needs of people's spiritual life in certain respects. There are many works of this type. We must not, proceeding from certain prejudices, censure them at will, but rather should protect, tolerate, and open the door to them. The third type is the one we should give guidance

to. This type of work, generally speaking, is not all that mature artistically and also has certain deficiencies and inadequacies artistically, or else its style is not all that high. However, there is no big problem with it, and even less is there any harm in it. With regard to this type of work, we should not "execute it by shooting," cudgel it to death, and at every turn ban it. Even less should we without limit raise it to the plane of principle, and criticize and besiege it. We should give it guidance, discussing and consulting with the author to help him revise it, so that it is perfected and matured as much as possible. The fourth type is the one we must ban, confiscate, and punish. This type is reactionary or obscene, or else have the aim of advocating feudal superstition or murder and terror. With regard to this type of work, there is no question of relaxation. We must firmly supress them and without exception confiscate them. and we must not be careless about this. Only by uprooting these poisonous weeds can a hundred flowers blossom in the garden of literature and art. In making this differentiation of levels, there is no fixed pattern. Its meaning is only to provide a method for understanding and handling. This means that with regard to ideology--this complex social phenomenon--and with regard to academic and scientific questions, we must not practice "arbitrary uniformity," but rather must proceed from reality, make specific analyses, and deal with each case on its own merits.

Obviously, the spiritual essence of the relaxed, harmonious, environment we are talking about here is that we must strictly differentiate various different types of contradictions, correctly handle questions of right or wrong in ideology, and encourage people to explore boldly and blaze new trails courageously. We should, from this positive meaning, understand and thoroughly implement this policy. If we depart from this basic point, we could cause misunderstandings and misrepresentations about this policy. Currently, on the ideological and cultural fronts, we must strive to create a relaxed, harmonious atmosphere, and also make a point of putting social benefits in first place and persist in the direction of socialism. With regard to the workers in literature and art, we must correctly understand and recognize the relationships between creative freedom and the sense of social responsibility of writers and artists, between the "double hundred" policy and the "two do's" direction, between the major themes and the diversification of themes, and between improving leadership and strengthening leadership; and in a comprehensive and integrated manner implement the party's policy on literature and art.

However, with regard to the creation of a relaxed, harmonious environment, there still exist among the people all sorts of confused ideas. Some comrades think that the stress on relaxation means a laissez-faire attitude and that liberalization could appear. This is a misunderstanding. Liberalization is a specific political concept. It means the tendency to take the capitalist road. If this dangerous tendency really were to appear, naturally we would have to resolutely oppose it. There simply does not exist any question of relaxation with regard to this matter of orientation. The relaxation we are talking about does not fall within this scope. In our view, relaxation, under the premise of upholding the four basic principles, is a matter of solving the problem of how our party can correctly lead literature and art, theory, scientific research, as well as all work on the ideological

front. It advocates free contention between different viewpoints and academic ideas, and encourages people to speak out freely and air their own views. Within this scope, we should conscientiously engage in democratic, equal, and free discussions and contentions. In this there simply does not exist any question of "liberalization," that is, taking the capitalist road.

There are also some comrades who feel that relaxation means not wanting to strengthen discipline and supervision. This also is a misunderstanding. Actually, this is a case of two different scopes. Relaxation addresses the question of thinking and understanding. But supervision addresses the questions of discipline, rules and regulations, and the legal system. With regard to all people and things that violate discipline, we must, in accordance with party discipline and government discipline, keep them within the necessary bounds of discipline. With regard to all people and things that break the law and commit crimes, we must, based on enforcing the state laws, apply sanctions according to law. In this kind of discipline and legal supervision, there simply does not exist any question of relaxation; on the contrary, it must be strengthened. Leniency and strictness are a unity of opposites; they oppose each other and yet complement each other. Only by strengthening the supervision of discipline and law can we better implement the policy of relaxation and harmony in questions of thinking and understanding and in academic and cultural questions.

There are also some comrades who worry that the stress on relaxation will slacken the party's leadership and will lower the leadership's role. They say: "Now the leaders have already lost control, and if relaxation is again stressed they will be forced to herd sheep." Here there is a question of a correct understanding of what leadership is and how it should be effected. On this question, there remains in the minds of some of our comrades a little influence of old ideas and concepts and of old work methods. In their view it seems that to lead one must manage people and keep them under control, that is, impose all sorts of restrictions on other people's thoughts and actions. They do not understand that leadership is a science, and that it is first off all a science of working on people's ideas. To be a good leader, one must master the laws of people's thinking and, with a definite object in view, put the work deep in their hearts, encouraging their spirits and arousing their enthusiasm. This is an important task in the four modernizations for our leaders at all levels, and is also an important characteristic of ideological and political work in the new period. Particularly under the conditions of socialism, people are not only members of society but also masters of the country. In leading people we must not engage in the practice of controlling, blocking, and exerting pressure on them, but rather must use the method of persuasion and education and the method of "dredging," dealing with them in a comradely-style attitude of equality. Among the masses of people, in the discussion of various questions, there are bound to appear different understandings and even opposing opinions. This not only is normal, but also is precisely a manifestation of the people's display of enthusiasm and initiative, speaking out freely, and daring to speak. It should be said that this is a good phenomenon. Lively discussion with everyone trying to get a word in, and getting everyone to talk, is always much better than a situation in which "not even a crow or sparrow can be heard"--silence reigns. In this discussion and contention of different opinions, to effect the party's leadership we must scientifically analyze, in the spirit of seeking truth from facts, the various opinions and views and provide positive guidance, so that

they are put on the healthy, correct track. Obviously, this kind of leadership is not slack but is strong. The role of this kind of leadership is not reduced but rather is raised higher. To achieve this, we must thoroughly implement the policy of relaxation and harmony, and strive to create an environment and atmosphere in which there are democracy, unity, friendship, mutual trust, and mutual understanding. In this sense, this policy precisely requires that our leading comrades at all levels learn scientific work attitudes and work methods, and raise leadership work to a higher level.

9727
CSO: 4005/933

POOR QUALITY OF IDEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS DECRIED

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by Mo Ming [1075 2494]: "Ideological Investigations and Studies Urgently Need Improvement and Strengthening"]

[Text] Launching ideological investigations, observing popular feelings and aspirations, and reporting the voice of the masses are an important part of the daily work of party and government departments, especially their ideological-political work branch. In recent years, amidst the vigorous trend to launch investigations and studies, we have expended much time and energy and made some achievements, but some problems have also been found.

1. Perfunctoriness and Intermittence. Some departments and units swarm forward the moment the higher level announces plans and assignments, but they put the matter aside when there are no plans and assignments. When launching investigations under higher-level assignments, they often use the minimum effort to collect superficial material to get by. Such perfunctoriness has created the phenomenon of "a gust of wind," making it impossible for the work to be regular and sustained. In addition, due to the absence of scientific means for the storage of information, investigations of different times are isolated and disconnected. The moment an investigation is concluded, some units shelve the information and have to start all over again next time. Not only does it duplicate the labor, but it becomes impossible to link the ideological conditions of the past with the present, analyze and compare them, and master the evolutionary laws of the people's thinking, or to make forecasts according to the laws.

2. Singularity of Means and Measures. The various ideological investigations launched today cannot depart from forums. Good forums are indeed the simplest, easiest, and most reliable way to gather information. Nevertheless, if we abandon all other avenues and rely only on forums, we will invariably limit the realms of investigation, fail to clarify the vivid ideas among the masses through multiple channels and by flexible and diverse means and methods, and thereby affect the quality and results of our investigations.

3. Vagueness and Subjectivity. In many ideological materials, we regularly come across such words as "the overwhelming majority," "some people," and "one or two." It does not mean that these words are totally unusable, but to

rely on such abstract and general terms, without fairly accurate quantitative analyses, our understanding of the people's thinking can only be vague and hazy. The lack of quantitative analysis will also lead to subjectivity. When report writers indicate that the main aspect is good, as the issue involves only the main aspect, they can find much corroborative material. When they indicate that the problem is serious and the situation discouraging, they can likewise find much corroborative material and write volumes on even the most bizarre and ludicrous viewpoints as the main aspect. This situation hampers our accurate assessment of the ideological conditions, blocks our purposefulness in ideological-political work, and even leads to deviations and mistakes.

4. Fragmentation and Disorganization. Ideological conditions are characterized by their large volume, broad areas, multiple categories, diverse levels, and rapid changrs. In view of this, besides concentrated large-scale investigations, we must also rely on daily piecemeal investigative work and clarify the thinking in one aspect by one part of the people. However, such piecemeal material must be systematically analyzed and synthesized to make it comprehensive and systematic. One shortcoming in our work is that we are satisfied with piecemeal and incomplete information. Thus, our understanding of the people's ideological conditions is constantly halted in a disorderly and disorganized state, resulting in fragmentation due to the lack of systematic analyses. This lack also leads to another consequence: the investigative materials of the various branches and departments are used separately and fail to develop the effect of the whole. As the various branches and departments each have their own characteristics, it is normal for them to have their particular emphasis. However, what they study is often limited to a certain aspect or part of society, and adding up the parts is not equivalent to the whole. To clarify the ideological conditions of society as a whole, we must do a series of systematic analytical tasks, which is something often overlooked.

The problems discussed above are fairly common in our ideological investigative work. We should study them and strive to solve them in practice. Many units have recently begun to apply quantitative analysis in ideological investigations. Nevertheless, truly solving the problems and making ideological investigations catch up with practical needs constitute an extremely arduous task. We should further improve understanding, actively conduct scientific explorations, continuously raise the standard of ideological investigative work, make it truly into a "barometer" of the ideological climate, and give it a greater role in building the two civilizations.

6080/12859
CSO: 4005/814

SOUTHWEST REGION REGIONAL AFFAIRS

ELIMINATING LIFE TENURE IN CADRE SYSTEM REFORM DISCUSSED

Guiyang GUIZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jul 86 p 3

[Article by Long Zhiyi [7893 1807 3015]: "Making It Possible for Cadres To Go Up Or Down Is the Key to Pushing Reform of the Cadre Personnel System"]

[Text] The party and state are now making a series of reforms in every field. Whether each reform will succeed depends to a very large degree on reform of the cadre system. Making it possible for cadres to go up or down, and abrogating the existing life tenure system in leadership posts, is the key to the current reform of the cadre system. We all know that the policy set forth by the party Central Committee for leading groups of making them more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and professionally more competent is a major reform of the original cadre system and of the standards for using people. Although the measures for the "four modernizations" of the leading groups are not yet completely perfected, the way of the "four modernizations" as a general principle has been set. Abrogating the existing life tenure system in leading posts, and making it possible for cadres who hold leading posts to go up or down, will accelerate the progress of the groups' "four modernizations," so that the leading groups at all levels normally maintain their vigor and vitality, are in the optimum state of being full of life, and better lead the masses of people to achieve the general task and general goal in the new period. From the long-term, dialectical viewpoint, the leading groups have a dynamic nature. They develop along with the situation and charge along with the cadres' circumstances. It is normal and necessary that, while maintaining relative stability, there be regular partial and individual adjustments in them. If the life tenure system existing in the leadership posts is not changed, then the cadres will only be able to go up and not down, and only be able to go in and not out. Many "redundant personnel" and "redundant officials" will appear, and it will be impossible to achieve the "four modernizations" of the groups.

To solve the problem of going down, it is very important that the life tenure system in leadership posts be changed. The specific meaning of being able to go up or down is "going down." "Going down" contains two aspects: withdrawing from leadership posts when the age reaches the "walking cane" stage and withdrawing from leading groups when the age has not reached the "walking cane" stage. When someone reaches retirement age, to arrange for his withdrawal from his leadership post is now the basic system and approach. In recent years, there has been a number of comrades, at all levels and in all

departments who, after a fixed number of years in their posts, no longer hold actual leadership posts. Of course, there are individual veteran comrades who, because of work necessities, need to be left in their posts for a period of time. However, it may now be said that there is no way within the age of holding office (young and middle-aged cadres and those over 50 years old) to withdraw from leading groupos. The situation in the previous stage was: some comrades who did not work well in a given unit when transferred to another unit had to hold a post of an equal rank. When someone's leadership post was adjusted to the next lower level, brackets saying that he would retain X X-level treatment had to be put behind his name. For someone who, because of personal reasons, was selected to be sent down, separate arrangements had to be made for his post to be of equal rank, or at least he had to enjoy his original treatment. And so on and so forth. If this was not done, it was said to be a case of "not implementing policy." If these conditions are not changed but are carried on perpetually in the same way, the abrogation of the life tenure system in leadership posts and the elimination of its malpractices will never be achieved.

Then, which leading cadres who are within the age for holding office should be sent down? Can it be put this way? One type is the abnormal type of sending down, namely, leading cadres who have committed various kinds of mistakes and are no longer suitable to continue undertaking leadership work. It is comparatively easy to readjust these cadres, and there is fairly little resistance, but handling only this type does not solve the problem. The other is the normal type of sending down. From an analysis of the current situation among leading cadres, there are three main situations: Their strong points are not used, their abilities are not used, or they are not suitably used. There are some difficulties in the work of readjusting these cadres, mainly in the influence of old traditional concepts and in the comparative difficulty of getting a grip on standards.

Not using their strong points means that after some cadres with specialized skills enter the leading group, they go through a process of tempering for a certain time and then facts prove that they are not competent to do leadership work. From a look at the situation in the party and government leading groups in our province at the county level and above, we see that the greater part of the young and middle-aged cadres who have been selected for the leading groups are personnel with specialized skills at the county level. Among them, most were in the agricultural, forestry, educational, and public health specialities. According to a survey, after they take up leading posts, the majority of them transform their knowledge fairly quickly, changing their single knowledge structure to a comprehensive knowledge structure and changing technical-type knowledge to management-type knowledge. They quickly become competent in their current posts, and the work of many comrades is outstanding. However, a minority of the comrades really have difficulty in handling their current posts, and for a long time they are unable to open up the work situation. These comrades should be readjusted in a timely manner, letting them engage in certain specialities and display their strong points so that they make the best use of their talents. We do not deny that these comrades are talented persons; we only say that they are not talented persons in doing leadership work.

Not using their abilities means not adapting to their current posts in decision-making ability, coordination ability, and management ability. This type of cadre frequently has not been tempered in a definite sequence or, although he has been tempered in a definite sequence, he has gone up too fast, and thus needs to to go down a step or be again tempered at the basic level. By going down for a certain time of tempering, some comrades, because they have diligently studied in practice, have the courage to keep forging ahead, and also could be selected for a higher level leadership post. In addition, some comrades are mediocre in various aspects, do not adapt to their current posts, do not have much potential, and, after being sent down from their leadership posts, do work within their power. This is also a case of each person being in his proper place, and should be regarded as a normal phenomenon.

Not being used suitably means that they are not suited to their work environment. Some comrades who are suited to basic-level work find it hard to adapt when they join leadership organizations; some who go to technical departments from administrative departments, or vice versa, do not adapt, and so forth. In order that work will not be adversely affected, the necessary adjustments should be made for these comrades based on specific circumstances.

We should clearly understand that making it possible for the cadres to go up or down is the path we must take, and that it has now become an extremely urgent issue in the reform of the cadre personnel system. To do this work well, I think we now should put emphasis on the following several aspects:

1. Thoroughly change some old concepts. Because of the influence of the force of habit and the feudal consciousness, there have been formed in people's minds some senses of right and wrong, honor and disgrace, and rank that are detrimental to the normal up or down movement of cadres. They unanalytically relate a cadre's movement up with "honor" and "glory," and relate his movement down as "dishonor" and "inglory," thinking that the higher the official position the greater the worth of the person, and the lower the official position the smaller the worth of the person. These views are extremely one-sided. There is now a stress on a kind of "psychology about caring about being an official." I think that this caring about is precisely only the traditional incorrect psychology about "becoming an official." Through strengthening propaganda and doing good public opinion work, we must get rid of all sorts of incorrect concepts among all the cadres and masses, and firmly implant in them the correct sense of right and wrong, sense of honor and disgrace, and sense of worth. As a leading cadre, one should make the interests of the party and the state the premise and subordinate oneself to the needs of the party's cause, and should not consider individual gain or loss. If the party's cause requires that one go up then one goes up; if it requires that one go down then one goes down. This movement up or down should be regarded as a normal phenonmenon. This then will be beneficial to one's own healthy maturation, and one will be able to say that one is with practical action abrogating the life tenure system in leadership posts. The great number of cadres and masses must regard being a leading cadre as a kind of complex labor, and those who are leading cadres ought to be respected. They also must understand that whoever, under the socialist system, does creative labor is a person who contributes to the party's cause. No matter whether he

holds a leadership post or not, he is honorable and similarly should receive respect. They must not think that only by being an official does one get honor. That is to say, through propaganda we must gradually achieve a change in a fundamental concept, namely, the concept of people's worth.

2. The system of distribution according to work must be perfected. In the arrangement of salaries this time, it is rational for cadres who have newly gone up after the reform of their organizations, to stipulate what posts they will hold, what their post salaries will be, and what salaries they will get at their new posts when they change posts. The problem now is that there should be a relative symmetry with other trades and professions, and, based on the differences in every person's division of work and the size of his contribution, his remuneration should be rationally determined. At present, in our salary system we are making efforts in this direction, and further arrangements and perfection of it are pending. There are some irrational phenomena in actual life. For example, in the past some intellectuals, whose ability and political integrity were very good, worked in organizations for 20 or 30 years at very low salaries. In the past several years, stress has been put on promoting intellectuals. Some college students who have gone to work have been promoted to county- and office-level cadres, and even to prefecture- and department-level cadres, and their salaries have gone up correspondingly, while persons who have remained in schools and scientific research units have found it very difficult to get middle-level or high-level technical or professional titles, etc. All of these are temporary phenonmena that have appeared under specific historical conditions. We need, through a complete set of reforms in the salary system, cadre system, and technical and professional title system, to seek a systematic solution in this regard.

3. Appointment and dismissal of cadres must be legislated, and the examination and management of cadres must be made scientific. At every link in the cadres' movement up and down, there must be set up perfected, rational systems to follow. There are now some tentative systems for the appointment and dismissal of cadres, like the selection system and the term of office system, but, generally speaking, they are inadequate. Work in this respect must be further explored. New methods of examining cadres should also be constantly explored. For example, we must explore the question of whether the method of measuring and assessing a cadre's political integrity, ability, diligence, and achievements by combining qualitative and quantitative standards can be universally practiced.

Now, the reform of the cadre system, like the reform of the economic system, is in a period when the new system is replacing the old system. The new concepts and new system are playing their roles, and the outmoded system and concepts are also still playing their roles. Under these circumstances, the correct attitude should be to explore while engaging in practice and to advance amid explorations. We certainly must not adopt a wait-and-see attitude, waiting until the central authorities have stipulated everything before we get going. That would be an incorrect attitude.

9727
CSO: 4005/931

PEEL HER

ELIMINATING UNHEALTHY TENDENCIES TO IMPROVE PARTY STYLE

Lhasa XIZANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Apr 86 p 4

[Article by Wang Chongshou [3769 1504 1108]: "Dare To Touch the Tiger's Rump"]

[Text] After deciding on the topic, I became tongue-tied and bewildered. Right at the start of the Year of the Tiger, those offering eulogies to the tiger follow on one another's heels. All at once, radio, television, newspapers, and the stage seem to have set off a burst of "tiger fever," surging with an uncontrollable momentum. Yet you have the nerve to stroke the tiger's whiskers and throw cold water! Is it not somewhat "too much"?

To be sure, the tiger is the king of all beasts, its fame known to every woman and child. Nevertheless, the "unhealthy tendencies" among tigers also cause concern. What is more, "baring fangs and brandishing claws and tyrannizing," the tiger's "notoriety" terrifies and enrages people!

Party style investigation at this time has spread to the issue of cadre work style, abuses in organs, and serious violations of law and discipline in society. How can the situation not make one worry upon seeing the "tiger" and ponder deeply?

Please look, the work style of some organs, departments, trades, and courts gives the impression that it is difficult to enter the "tiger gate." The masses complain: "Affairs are hard to handle, facial expressions are disagreeable, and the little devils are hard to see." Some "usurp hilltops," abusing their functions and power, setting up roadblocks in many ways, demanding and accepting bribes, and entrapping the people. The least lack of "respect" brings all kinds of "difficulties," and one cannot extricate oneself without paying for "safe transit." Some of them exercise joint control and bring harm to the state. Suppressing their rage, many units and people find it difficult to swallow the bitter pill of such evil tendencies and unlawful acts.

Some cadres, even leaders, always deem themselves "king." "I am number one." Conceited and arbitrary, they are unable to tolerate views different from their own and words unpleasant to the ear, and become enraged upon hearing criticisms or having their "scars" touched. Others only want special considerations from the organization, not its discipline, persisting in their

old ways and brooking no interference, assuming the stance of "don't touch the tiger's rump."

Some party members and cadres follow a despotic work style and use abusive language at every turn, bringing the feared and detested "mother tiger" work style into organs and the party. One should ask: Is it not sad when a party cadre turns himself into a senseless abusive village shrew?

A passage in "Xunzi Dalue" reads: "When the emperor employs jealous ministers, competent people stay away." Likewise, when there are tigers in the mountain, will tourists come? According to a common saying, a mountain cannot accommodate two tigers. As the legend says, when a tiger "has completed its apprenticeship," it will no longer tolerate its "tutor" and has to kill it. All these prove that even tigers have the fatal weakness of "jealousy of the competent and able."

Though the "tiger style," namely, "unhealthy tendencies," discussed above is found in certain individuals and certain organs, departments, and trades, it damages within a certain sphere the image of the party, affects its prestige among the people, and becomes a "negative factor," or obstacle, in reform.

According to Comrade Chen Yun, party style is a life-and-death issue of the ruling party. Each and every party member, cadre, and party work department must give it his earnest attention, without the least bit of negligence. When the party style is not upright, how can there be reform?

The Xizang Autonomous Region party committee called a mobilization mass meeting of regional organs to rectify the party style, appealed to the vast numbers of party members, especially leaders, throughout the region to take the lead in achieving a basic improvement, and pointed out the serious problems in the region's party style today. One can say that "beating the mountain to shake the tiger" was an endeavor to reach the comrades with serious problems and awaken them to reality.

Here, what must be given special attention is that, regardless of their position and backing, the "vicious tigers," namely, serious economic criminals utilizing reform and their power to enrich themselves and violators of law and discipline endangering the life and security of the people, absolutely must not be permitted to remain beyond the law and continue to act like tyrants. We must severely and ruthlessly crack down on them. The executions of major criminals in Shanghai, including the three "vicious tigers" recently and the "two bears" a few years ago, have given the people immense satisfaction. Historical legends of heroes killing tigers, such as Li Guang, Qia Zhuang, Zhou Chu, Li Kui, and Wu Song, all indicate that people regard "tigers" as a danger and desire their eradication.

All upright party members must unite and serve as models in the basic improvement of Xizang's party style. We advise party members and cadres confused by unhealthy tendencies to sober up as soon as possible and no longer serve as "stumbling blocks" to reform, and we warn criminals who are seriously violating the law and discipline against obstinately sticking to their wrong course. If they persist in their own ways, their future will be like the tigers killed by heroes in the legends.

6080/12859
CSO: 4005/814

PEEL HERE

HARBIN FOCUSES ON '4 KEY LINKS' AT TOWNSHIP LEVEL

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Mar 86 p 1

[Text] Today (17 March 86) the party consolidation office of the municipal CPC committee and the leading groups for village party consolidation held a report-back meeting on party consolidation at the township level.

Five units--Daoli Prefecture, Hulan County, Ashihe Town of Acheng County, Dongfeng Town of Taiping Prefecture, and Wanbao Town of Daowai Prefecture--reported how they carried out party consolidation tasks at the township level. The leading cadres in the municipal CPC committee attended and spoke at the meeting.

The meeting concluded that ever since it began in late February, the township-level party consolidation in our city has shown great momentum. Under the leadership of municipal, district, and county CPC committees, major leading cadres have paid close attention to preparation, have coordinated study and reform, and have achieved the breakthrough point in the rectification of party discipline. However, it was obvious that many cadres still maintained the substandard opinion that this was "party rectification under orders." Some while studying "sat and discussed theory" and could not solve real problems. Some were eager to "fish for dry goods" and ignored the depth of their study.

The meeting pointed out that party consolidation at the township level will be a difficult task if it is to be completed in the first half of this year. Therefore, we must increase our pace, guarantee the quantity and quality of our work, and focus on the "four links." First, we must take a close look at reality, then investigate and do research, in order to grasp the reality of our party conduct and work to clear up the economics and investigating cases. Second, we must solve the problem of a leading body by evaluating the progressiveness of the body according to whether it can uphold the party cause and solve the major problems exposed by the people. Third, on the basis of exposing improper party conduct, we must smash the trammels of using connections and, no matter who is involved, be strict and impartial with party discipline in order to carry through the rectification. Fourth, we must strengthen members' awareness of the party spirit throughout the party consolidation in order to play the exemplary role of a Communist and increase the fighting capacity of the party organization.

The meeting emphasized that township-level party consolidation should currently stress the rectification of party conduct. In the learning stage, we must make "study, investigation, correction, and reconstruction" a coordinated process and focus on solving the five unhealthy tendencies such as giving dinners or sending gifts to curry favor; squandering or stealing public funds, goods, and land; fabricating orders to coerce orders; extorting peasants' wealth under all sorts of pretexts; and engaging in bribery and blackmail. After the study period ends we must spend time focusing on rectifying and improving those units with the most problems and the least improvement.

Last, considering that the village is in the busy planting season and that party consolidation is also in a tense period of study and rectification, the meeting asked leading cadres of each district and county to keep clear heads. Using party consolidation as the motive force, they must correctly relate party consolidation with reform and production and do a good job of reform, production, construction, etc.

13094/12379
CSO: 4005/682

LEADING BODY GROUP EXAMINATION RECOMMENDED

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Mar 86 p 1

[Article by staff reporters Li Jundi [2621 6511 0966] and Jia Naiying [6328 6621 5391]: "Thoroughly Carry out the Examination of the Leading Body Group; Comrade Li Genshen [2621 2704 3234] Presented Four Suggestions: We Must Take into Consideration the Opening of New Prospects; We Must Stress Individual Characteristics, Aiming at Specifics, Without Generalizing; We Must Sum up Our Experiences and Lessons Seriously; We Must Widen Our Horizons, Diligently Learn Something More, and Discover the Breakthrough Point"]

[Text] This afternoon (27 March 86), the leading cadres involved in party consolidation in Acheng County, Hulan County, and every prefecture attended a conference for members of the Taiping Prefecture standing committee on the leading body group examination. The municipal CPC committee secretary, Comrade Li Genshen, attended and spoke at the meeting.

First, leading body group examination must take into consideration the making of breakthroughs. Collective examination differs from individual examination. Individual examination is for examining one's party spirit, conduct, and discipline. The individual must have ideological depth and be strict in appraising himself. Collective examination is mainly for looking into the whole task and for examining party construction and the economy, operation, and ideology of the leading body group. Unifying the ideology of both the leading body and cadres with examination can form a more systematic and holistic approach when we attempt to solve the major problems facing our unit and region. Second, leading body group examination must stress one's own characteristics, aim at specifics, and avoid being general. Looking back and summing up past work carefully, especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we must thoroughly analyze every major problem we ran into in the past. In phrasing defects, we must present the unique problems existing in each unit so that people will not be confused with other units' problems. To put the problems in general wording will make the examination easier to pass but will not solve the problems. The key to a good analysis of each unit's work, contingent, ideology, and discipline is seriousness. Third, leading body group examination must sum up experiences and lessons seriously. Be bold and do not hold back while looking for problems in the past. To spot a problem or discrepancy is not to reject a person or group's achievement, but rather is to develop our cause and progress further. Fourth, the leading body

group examination must widen one's horizon to learn and discover the breakthrough point. This is the theme. Before the examination, we must study the document on party consolidation carefully, particularly delving into documents on reform to grasp the gist of the central authority. Meanwhile, we must widen our fields of vision both vertically and horizontally in order to recognize clearly our route and working range. Younger comrades in the leading body especially should dare to blaze new trails. To open up a new era, we must promote those new people who have good character and talent. We in our fifties should pay attention to helping those who lag behind.

Comrade Li Genshen emphasized that the examination must not be superficial. Especially at the next stage we must not be lax but instead pay close attention to the investigation and prosecution of major crimes.

13094/12379
CSO: 4005/682

PAPER CALLS FOR PROTECTION OF REFORMERS

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by Zhao Fu [6392 7079]: "Take Effective Measures to Protect Reformers"]

[Text] At present, there are strong appeals in the press for protection for reformers. This is a good thing. If the reformers are doing well, giving no cause for people to worry, and everything is satisfactory, then there is no reason for people to make such an appeal. It is regrettable that some reformers, especially those who have achieved successes but also made mistakes, are now in a rather difficult situation. Some have been suspended from duties for self-examination, others have been dismissed from office, and a few have been thrown in jail. How can the reforms be continued if the situation is not improved promptly for the reformers?

We must understand that protecting the reformers is not just a question of protecting a few good comrades. The reformers are advanced representatives of the new productive forces. In essence, protection of the reformers means protection of the new productive forces. The reformers stand in the forefront of the reform. Fundamentally speaking, to protect the reformers is to protect the enthusiasm of the cadres and the masses for reform. The reformers have already achieved remarkable results. Generally speaking, protecting the reformers means protecting the hard-won results of reform. The matter is of vital importance and must not be treated lightly.

How can the reformers be effectively protected?

The reformers' achievements must be fully affirmed. Achievements should be attributed first to the party, next to the people (first of all the masses in the unit concerned), and last to the individual. All this is correct. But, the reformers played a part, and their contributions cannot be denied. The problem now is, everyone but the reformers is credited for the achievements, and no one but the reformers are blamed for the mistakes. This is unfair and hardly convincing. To protect the active reformers, it is necessary to put an end immediately to gratuitous investigations of enterprises which have achieved successes in reform. This decision of the Fuzhou Municipal CPC Committee has won immense popular support and is worthy of emulation.

The reformers must be allowed to make mistakes. There is now an unhealthy trend. Anyone is allowed to make mistakes, except reformers who must not make any mistake. The same shortcomings and mistakes, dismissed as insignificant normally, become serious issues if they have anything to do with reformers. This, too, is obviously unfair. As the old Chinese sayings go, "Men are not saints, how can they be free from faults?" and "Even the wise are not always free from error." Reform is a kind of exploration. Exploration involves risk-taking, and errors are unavoidable. One cannot become "perfect" just because one is dedicated to the cause of reform. Mistakes are caused by many reasons, some due to lack of experience, others due to failure to draw clear lines of demarcation in applying a policy, and still others due to flaws in personal qualities. Mistakes should not be regarded as purely negative things. People learn how to reform from mistakes and shortcomings. When reformers have shortcomings or make mistakes, we should not keep blaming them, much less elevate minor shortcomings or mistakes to the level of principles. Instead, we should try to help them, adopting the approach of "curing the sickness to save the patient." According to our party's tradition, it is all right to make mistakes so long as they are corrected. This question is very simple, why should it be made so complicated?

Those who make false charges against reformers must be stopped. There are those people who are unable to accomplish anything but are likely to spoil everything. They cannot do anything for reform, except making trouble. They are no good at anything, except hurting others. They sent "accusations" and "anonymous letters" and put up "small-character posters" everywhere, leading the leadership by the nose into time-consuming investigations on trifles. Lacking common sense, some muddle-headed leaders readily believed the trumped-up charges and dispatched one investigation team after another. People were scared and worried about their safety. But these leaders would not stop until they succeeded in humiliating the advanced people who courageously worked for reform and in making enterprises which had begun to show a profit to lose money again. Therefore, only by punishing those making false charges can the reformers be protected. It's about time we put an end to the plight of the reformers and the smugness of the false accusers. Let's make the false accusers, who hide in dark corners and shoot poisoned arrows at the reformers, pay for their despicable behavior.

The cases in which reformers have been treated unfairly must be handled properly. Just as it is hard for reformers to avoid mistakes, it is also difficult for leading comrades to avoid making mistakes in dealing with reformers. However, when they find out that wrong appraisals have been made on some reformers, they should step forward courageously and speak out on their behalf. If the reformers have already been handled unfairly, it is necessary to act promptly and decisively to put them back to work so that they can return to the forefront of reform and continue to make contributions. Here, irresolution and hesitation can make a bad situation worse.

The cause of reform has just begun to develop. By caring for the reformers ideologically and adopting measures to protect them, we can strengthen people's determination nd confidence in reform and insure its smooth progress.

12802/9312
CSO: 4005/919

NORTHEAST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

NEED FOR TOLERANCE AMONG COMRADES STRESSED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by Bai Fangming [4101 2455 2494]: "Put the Stress on Tolerance"]

[Text] To create a relaxed environment for reform, one condition is indispensable, that is, in the handling of relations among comrades, stress must be placed on tolerance.

To be tolerant means not to nitpick and demand perfection. Because everyone in this world has shortcomings and mistakes. The more things we do, the more mistakes we make; the greater our responsibilities are, the more likely it will be that we will make mistakes. Take the reformers for example. A factory manager has to shoulder great responsibilities, and he has to do many things, including major and minor tasks. We must exercise tolerance when dealing with mistakes by reformers. Tolerance means understanding and support, trusting them to correct their own mistakes in practice and succeed in their work.

To be tolerant means not to intensify contradictions. There was a theory in the past, which maintains that a contradiction must be intensified before it can be solved. The "cultural revolution" was a full-scale practice of this theory. What was the result? The contradictions were not solved, but multiplied and intensified. Chaos set in, and the situation got out of hand. Experience has proven that the theory of solving contradictions by intensifying them is not an absolute truth. Contradictions can also be solved nicely by mitigation and harmonization. In the course of reform, we will come across many new contradictions, most of which should be solved by mitigation and not by artificial intensification. This is because our goals are the same, and it is normal for people with the same goal to have different opinions in work and understanding. Some mistakes in reform and flaws in some reformers' thinking and work style do not form antagonistic contradictions with the people's fundamental interests. It is wrong to overreact to these problems and put a political label on people at will. This kind of overreaction will not help the reform, but will lead to new frame-ups, false accusations and wrong sentences. Those who intensify contradictions which should not be intensified to show their own "revolutionary character" and "fighting spirit" are not doing any good for the party and the people's cause. Therefore, in the

handling of contradictions among the people, it is absolutely necessary to stress tolerance.

To be tolerant means not to elevate minor mistakes or shortcomings to the level of principles. In dealing with comrades' shortcomings and mistakes, we should seek truth from facts and act without bias. Some reformers are still suffering from those who are in the habit of exaggerating others' mistakes. These people turn a blind eye to the reformers' great achievements, but seize on their minor mistakes ad refuse to let go. As a result, the reformers are forced to put reform aside temporarily in order to defend themselves, wasting time and energy for nothing. It seems that unless an end is put to the practice of elevating minor shortcomings or mistakes to the level of principles, it is difficult to have a relaxed environment.

To be tolerant means not to fix people. The party's policy is clear: Whether it is consolidating the party organization or rectifying the party style, there is no reason for everyone to make a self-criticism so as to pass the test. Rectification of party style is not to make people suffer. But some of our comrades always want to fix somebody whenever they have a chance. Probably it is a bad habit formed under many years of the influence of the "leftist" line. It is hard to change and seems in conflict with today's current of reform. In the years of reform, there are too many things worth doing. It is better for everyone to think more about the great cause of the four modernizations, pay more attention to getting things done than to fixing people, and do more solid work for the country and the people.

In short, to be tolerant means to thoroughly abandon the erroneous principle of "taking class struggle as the key link. We should put the emphasis on the overall interests and unity. We should know particularly how to unite with comrades whose opinions about work and whose understanding of things differ from our own in order to bring everyone's enthusiasm into play, turn negative factors into positive ones, and guide the attention of the whole party and all the people onto the four modernizations drive. To be tolerant means to reform the idealist and metaphysical mode of thinking with the scientific way of thinking. We cannot do as we please in dealing with people's achievements and errors. To be tolerant does not mean to do away with ideological struggle, principles and discipline, and much less to abolish the legal system. On the contrary, it means to uphold law and discipline and that all men are equal before party discipline and the law. Those who deliberately make people suffer and attack or frame others, causing losses to the party's cause, should also be judged by party discipline and the law and learn a lesson. Law-breakers must be punished by law.

Finally, it should be pointed out that putting the stress on tolerance does not mean that tolerance should be made the absolute standard. In dealing with various types of criminal activities which endanger the socialist cause, it is imperative that those who should be severely punished are severely punished. Tolerance to criminals means cruelty to the people. Punishment of criminals is also necessary for creating a sound social environment for the four modernizations drive. It is not contradictory to the purpose of this article.

Let's learn to be tolerant. If this can also be considered a conceptual reform, I dare say that the establishment of this new concept will mean that we have made a clean break with the "remaining influence of the cultural revolution."

OBSERVATION OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION LAW URGED

Changchun JILIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Do a Good Job in Implementing the Compulsory Education Law"]

[Text] The Compulsory Education Law becomes effective 1 July this year. The formulation and implementation of the Compulsory Education Law is a major event in the history of education in China, an important measure of great strategic significance to the future of the country and the people.

Universal compulsory education is an important sign of modern civilization, a basic link in the development of intellectual resources and training of competent people of the Chinese nation. Vigorous promotion of universal basic education will have an important and far-reaching influence on the training of competent people in all fields and at all levels, the improvement of the cultural quality of the entire nation and the development of the two civilizations. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out not long ago that the four modernizations drive is faced with many difficulties, but only two are of utmost seriousness: the lack of knowledge and the shortage in trained manpower. If we want to catch up with the world's developed countries by the middle of the next century, we must begin universal education now, not only universal primary education but universal 9-year compulsory education. Vice Premier Wan Li pointed out that if by 1995 we can make 9-year compulsory education universal in the coastal areas, plus some cities and economically more developed areas in the interior, and have a suitable proportion of students going on to senior middle schools and colleges, we will have an intellectual advantage, and this intellectual advantage can be translated into technological, product and economic superiority. Therefore, strengthening basic education is laying the necessary groundwork for vigorous economic development, the indispensable precondition for achieving the goals of China's four modernizations drive.

The central and provincial governments are determined to implement the Compulsory Education Law, and the municipal (prefectural), county and township governments should also make up their minds. The education departments should work hard, and all parts of society should give energetic support, and not regard it as something which concerns only the education

departments. The Compulsory Education Law is education legislation adopted by the highest organ of state power, which the entire society must follow and must not violate. The law defines in clear and specific terms the obligations of the state, society, school and family. The state and society should provide the conditions for every child to receive the number of years of basic education as stipulated by law, and society should support and subsidize the implementation of the Compulsory Education Law. School grounds, buildings and equipment may not be seized or destroyed; no social units or individuals may hire children of compulsory education age but not attending schools; school education should be designed for all the students in all the schools to develop in an all-round way; and every citizen must send his school-age children to school to receive a specific level of compulsory education as stipulated by law.

To implement the Compulsory Education Law, it is necessary to do good publicity work to solve problems of understanding and increase the whole nation's consciousness of the law. In addition, there are two key problems that must be solved.

1. It is necessary to raise funds for education through many channels. In addition to funds allocated for basic education by the central government, which will increase gradually, local governments should also set aside a specific amount from their reserve funds for compulsory education, insuring more funds to come from both sources. Revenue of townships should be used mainly on compulsory education. A good job should be done in collecting additional taxes to meet the operating expenses of urban and rural schools. Vigorous efforts should be made to develop the work-study program and increase economic returns, using the proceeds to improve school conditions and collective welfare of teachers and students. All social circles and individuals are encouraged to donate funds to schools on a voluntary basis and according to their abilities.

2. It is necessary to mobilize the forces from all quarters and adopt various effective measures to build a qualified and stable teaching force which is sufficient in number and rationally structured in fields of specialization in about 15 years' time. The localities should carefully analyze the conditions of the ranks of basic education teachers and adopt training measures. To really improve teacher education, it is necessary to increase investment in teacher education and improve school conditions. It is necessary to strengthen in-service training and advanced studies for teachers. It is necessary to stabilize the existing teacher force by really improving the teachers' social status and increasing their wages. Firm measures should be adopted to make sure that graduates from higher and secondary teacher schools go to work on the frontline of education, and they should not be recruited for other jobs.

In implementing the Compulsory Education Law, the localities on the one hand should have a sense of historical responsibility and urgency, place it on the agenda of party committees and governments and study it seriously. On the other hand, they should not blindly compete with each other, seeking high speed and setting high targets, but lowering standards of education.

It is necessary to seek truth from facts, proceed from the actual conditions, draw up implementation plans based on the actual situation of local economic development, and make the greatest possible efforts to implement the Compulsory Education Law in a down-to-earth way.

12802/9190
CSO: 4005/920

NORTHEAST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

HEILONGJIANG IMPLEMENTS POLICY ON INTELLECTUALS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jul 86 p 4

[Text] The inspection and acceptance of the results of the implementation of the policy toward intellectuals in Heilongjiang Province was concluded earlier this month. The inspection shows that all problems left over from history in this province, which should be settled according to policy stipulations, have been settled based on appeals made by the people concerned through relevant organizations, thus completing the task way ahead of the convocation of the 13th CPC National Congress, the target date set by the CPC Central Committee. At present, the emphasis has shifted to creating conditions for the intellectuals to bring their roles into full play.

According to a GUANGMING RIBAO report, good progress was made in implementing the policy toward intellectuals in Heilongjiang. By 1984, 99 percent of the problems left over from history were solved. However, little progress was made in the following year. The reason was that the remaining problems involved more departments and were more difficult to solve. And, more important, some people were satisfied with doing a "basically" "passable job" and lacked the spirit to seek out the truth. In view of this situation, the provincial party committee in November last year called for concentration of time and efforts to accomplish the task within a definite period of time, striving to solve all the problems and leave behind nothing unresolved. The provincial party committee adopted some unusual measures. The unsettled problems were divided among leading cadres who were charged with full responsibility for solutions. A list of the leading cadres charged with this task was distributed to the localities, and a time limit was set for completion of the task. In dealing with the long-standing, big and difficult problems, the leading cadres personally invited the departments concerned to consultation meetings or on-the-spot work sessions to find solutions to the long-unresolved problems. To avoid missing anything, measures were taken to mobilize the masses to recall the past, solicit opinions from all sides, have people fill out a registration form on policy implementation, and so forth, to locate the missing cases and solve them completely and thoroughly. Because the leadership personally took charge and the relevant departments closely cooperated, not only were the long-standing, big and difficult problems solved, but no problems which should be solved according to policy were

missed, even without appeals from the people concerned and from their organization.

At the end of the last year, the provincial party committee laid down nine standards on solving problems left over from history and specific inspection and acceptance procedures, defining in specific and clear-cut terms the objects, content, scope and methods of the implementation of the policy. The provincial party committee dispatched more than 170 persons in 19 work teams to various localities and organizations directly under the provincial party committee, where they openly received visitors and made door-to-door calls to implement the policy. Wherever they went, the work teams always issued "public notices" through local newspapers and radio broadcasts to publicize the policy, report on the current situation and encourage intellectuals with unresolved problems left over from history to call on them. Their action brought strong reactions from the intellectuals. The number of problems left over from history on record in the province suddenly increased from some 200 cases to more than 1,000. The number of problems increased, but the work style also changed, and problems were solved faster. In the first 8 months of the last year, some 150 problems left over from history were solved in the province, but since the work teams were sent to the localities, more than 600 cases were solved in just 1 month.

12802/9190
CSO: 4005/920

CIRCULAR PROMISES CLEMENCY FOR THIEVES WHO SURRENDER

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jul 86 p 1

[Article by Xiao Youzhi [5135 2589 1807]: "Urging Thieves To Surrender"]

[Text] Recently, the province's higher court, procuratorate, public security department, and judicial department issued a "joint notice on severely cracking down on the activities of thieves," in which thieves were urged to give themselves up in order to receive lenient treatment.

The "circular" pointed out that criminals who steal, harbor stolen goods, dispose of stolen goods, receive stolen goods, or transport stolen goods must get a clear understanding of the situation, realize their errors, mend their ways, immediately stop doing evil, as fast as possible give themselves up to their local public security organ or the security department in their unit, and make a clean breast of their crimes in order to receive lenient treatment. Those who give themselves up before 20 August, no matter the number, size, or seriousness of their crimes, provided they confess the full facts, expose and denounce the criminal activities of other persons, actively return what they have unlawfully taken or pay compensation for it, and guarantee never to repeat their crime, may receive light, mitigated, or no punishment at all. Those who surrender themselves for other criminal acts will be similarly treated according to the abovementioned principles. With regard to those who are being reformed through labor, those who are being reformed through education, and others who are in detention, if they confess to crimes that were not originally discovered, they will generally not be punished for them; those who have behaved meritoriously may have their sentences commuted, be released on parole, or be relieved from labor or education ahead of time.

The "circular" points out that strict punishment will resolutely be meted out to those criminals who conclude agreements with partners in crime not to give each other away, who divert stolen goods, who destroy evidence of a crime, who even make retaliatory strikes on those who report crimes, and who continue their thieving activities. At the same time, those who do not report the facts of a criminal case, who harbor, cover up for, and connive with criminals will be seriously investigated and dealt with according to law.

The "circular" also points out that all enterprises and undertakings, all school and organization units, particularly secondhand shops, treatment and

refining plants, and salvage stations (points), must strictly abide by the state's policies and degrees, and conscientiously implement all security and guard measures. With regard to those who buy goods illegally or who, knowing that the goods are stolen, still buy them or buy them for someone else, they will be seriously dealt with and an investigation will be pursued until the responsibility for the crime is affixed. With regard to units that neglect guard work and thus allow the state's and the collective's property to be stolen, leading to serious losses, based upon the situation regarding the losses, there will be an investigation to affix the responsibility of the leaders in charge and the person with direct responsibility. With regard to those who neglect their duty and are guilty of malfeasance, they will be investigated according to law and the responsibility for the crime affixed.

9727
CSO: 4005/931

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY ANALYZED

Taipei CHUNG-KUNG YEN-CHIU [STUDIES ON CHINESE COMMUNISM] in Chinese Vol 20 No 8, 15 Aug 86 pp 83-90

[Article by Wang Hsien [3769 6897]: "Analysis of the Chinese Communists' Establishment of a 'National Defense University'"]

[Text] I. Foreword

In coordination with its policy of "streamlining and reorganization," the Chinese communists' armed forces on 30 November last year (1985) announced in Peiping that the three high-level command academies directly under the CPC's "Central Military Commission"--the Military Academy, Political Academy, and Logistics Academy--would be merged into a "National Defense University." On 15 January this year (1986), the CPC's "Central Military Commission," at the assembly hall of the former "Military Academy," held a "flag presentation" ceremony, formally completing the merger work.

The communist army's newly established "National Defense University" is the highest military institution of higher learning, and is under the leadership of the "Central Military Commission," which in turn is directly under the CPC. It is also the educational institution for the highest level cadres in the communist army's three-level training system--primary, middle, and high. Its principal task is to train Army, Navy, and Air Force high-level military, political, and logistics command cadres; high-level staff personnel of the three services; high-level theoretical research personnel; and leading cadres in the CPC Central Committee and in local relevant departments. It also engages in research on relevant strategic and "national defense modernization" questions. At the same time, it is an advisory unit for the policy-making bodies--the CPC's "Central Military Commission" and the "three general departments."

The communist army's establishment of the "National Defense University" is one of the significant measures in the present stage of the reform of the educational system of the communist army's academies and colleges. Its relationship to the communist army's future training of high-level command and staff personnel with modern knowledge is significant. Yang Shangkun [2799 1424 2492], secretary general of the CPC's "Central Military Commission," has called it " a major event of strategic significance." (1)

II. Process of Establishment

The Chinese communist armed forces' establishment of high-level command academies and colleges can be traced back to the early stage of the Chinese communists' armed rebellion, namely, not long after the Chinese communists entered the "Central Soviet Area" in 1931. On the basis of the original "training units," a "Central Red Army School" was set up.

Afterward, following the gradual expansion of this school, in 1935 the Chinese communists' "Central Red Army School" hanged its name into the "Central Workers and Peasants Red Army University." One 1 June 1936, the name was again changed, this time to the "Chinese Anti-Japanese Red Army University." In January 1937, the name was changed to the "Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political University" (short form, "Anti-Japanese Military and Political University" or "Anti-Japanese University"). Branches of the university were set up in various "bases." In the period of the Chinese communists' all-out rebellion, the name was again changed, this time to the "Military and Political University." Its mission and nature were the same as those of the "Central Red Army School" in the early period.

After the establishment of the Chinese communist regime, in July 1950 the Chinese communists held a "regular meeting of the Military Commission," which decided that the communist army must first of all establish a comprehensive army university, and which instructed all service arms to set up various types of specialized schools. On 15 January 1951, in accordance with the policy for running the "Anti-Japanese University" (2), the communist army established the "Military Academy" with Liu Bocheng [0491 0184 2110] as its commandant and concurrently political commissar, which was responsible for training middle- and high-level command cadres. Afterward, in line with the "headquarters, political and logistics" command system, the communist army set up the "Political Academy" and "Logistics Academy." This was the origin of the communist army's three high-level command academies.

During the "Cultural Revolution" the communist army's academies and colleges were sabotaged. In September 1970, the communist army merged the "Military Academy," "Political Academy," and "Logistics Academy" into the "Military and Political University," thereby restoring the system of the "Anti-Japanese University" of the past, and making it the advanced educational and training organization for training cadres in the communist army at the division level and above. But not much attention was paid to the "Military and Political University" after the change, and the number of its students fell. Therefore, in March 1978 the communist army abolished the "Military and Political University" and restored the pre-"Cultural Revolution" system of the "Military Academy," "Political Academy," and "Logistics Academy." It also increased the numer of teaching classes and the number of students enrolled in the three academies. However, this educational system of the communist army's still had many defects. Xiao Ke [5618 0344], former commandant of the "Military Academy," at a "meeting of party members and cadres in the first stage of party consolidation," announced: "From now until 1990, there will be a period of important adjustment of the Military Academy, and during this adjustment reforms will be carried out in a planned and measured way." (3) He suggested that the communist army had already begun to carry out the plan of

merging the high-level command academies. At the same time, the "three general departments" of the communist army and the three high-level command academies sent representatives to America, Britain, France, Germany, and Italy to observe and study conditions in these countries. In the advanced countries they studied the organizational pattern, educational facilities, and teaching content of the highest military institutions of higher education as reference for matters concerning the planned merger of the three high-level command academies. In July 1985, Yang Dezhi [2799 1779 1807], "chief of staff" of the communist army, at the "graduation ceremony for Military Academy's Class of 1985," asserted: "Reforms of the army's system of academies and colleges, and the work of streamlining and reorganization, are about to be started in succession step by step." (4) He revealed that the plan for the merger of the three high-level command academies had already been completed. On 30 November of the same year, the CPC's "Central Military Commission" issued orders for the principal personnel of the "National Defense University>" At this point the work of merging the three high-level command academies came to the end of a stage.

The site of the newly established "National Defense University" of the communist army is the old site of the former "Military Academy," and its branches are on the old site of the former "Political Academy."

III. Principal Goals

The purpose of the Chinese communists in establishing the "National Defense University" can be understood from the following several aspects.

A. Correct errors in the educational goals of the high-level command academies. In the past the training classes offered by the communist army's "Military Academy," "Political Academy," and "Logistics Academy" all made training in each one's speciality primary and there was no training in other specialities. For example, the Military Academy only emphasized training in military command capabilities, and there was no training in politics and logistics. Therefore, one of the communist army's purposes in establishing the "National Defense University" was to correct this error in educational goal. Just as the Chinese communists themselves said: "The persons trained by this school--the National Defense University--should be all-round talents in military, political, and logistics work." (5)

B. Coordinate the communist army's "reform of the system" with "streamlining and reorganization." The communist army's cut of "one million," which began in 1985, is divided into two stages in 2 years. The first stage is this year's (1986) focus on reducing the establishment, streamlining the logistics system and putting the "people's armed forces departments" under local jurisdiction. One of the chief projects is the reform of the academy system, namely, the merger of the three high-level command academies, to achieve the purpose of streamlining.

In addition, because the result of the communist army's large-scale reduction is bound to affect its normal combat strength, the communist army has proposed the practice of "making up the insufficiency in quantity by an elevation in quality": "First, gradually improve weapons and equipment to narrow as fast

as possible the gap with the armed forces of developed countries in weapons and equipment; second, grasp the advantageous moment to strengthen cadre education and training, so as to train a large number of talented persons who meet the needs of armed forces modernization." (6) The communist army's establishment of the "National Defense University" was an important move taken to strengthen the education and training of high-level cadres.

C. Change the backward educational features in the communist army's high-level command academies. In the present stage, there exist certain serious defects in the communist army's high-level command academies. Xiao Ke, former commandant of the communist army's "Military Academy," has pointed out:

1. The level of scientific and cultural knowledge of instructors and students is too low, and they have insufficient specialized knowledge.

2. The reform of the academy system has not been integrated with the cadre work system, creating blindness in transfers and withdrawals, and, coupled with the fact that it does not have the restraints of strict systems (like the cadre active service system, separation and retirement system, reserve duty system, and professional examination system), unhealthy tendencies have run rampant.

3. Education in the academies is influenced by the "leftist" ideology, and there widely exists the mistaken tendency to despise science and culture and to despise intellectuals. It is stressed that all work is for the purpose of changing the students' ideology, and importance is not attached to transmitting knowledge. The result is that the knowledge of cadres who graduate from high-level command academies is comparatively unitary and they understand too few things.

4. The starting point of the academies' development of talents is too low. The study content is too narrow, and no consideration is given to the armed forces' development. The courses offered by the academies basically follow the content of the fifties and sixties, and they do not meet the demand for the knowledge needed by modern high-level command cadres. (7)

Because there is a very big gap between the education in the communist army's high-level command academies and the demands on it for building the armed forces, the communist army has made use of the opportunity provided by this merger of the three academies "to set forth a series of reform measures with regard to the objects of training, goals of training, and educational content," (8) with the intention of changing the backward features in the education of the armed forces' high-level command academies.

D. Strengthen the educational system of the communist army's academies. The educational system of the communist army's academies follows the practices of the fifties, and the command academies are divided into three levels--primary, middle, and high. The primary-level command academies are responsible for training company- and platoon-level cadres; the middle-level command academies are responsible for training regiment- and battalion-level cadres; and the high-level command academies are responsible for training army- and division-level cadres. The academy training system has become an important base of

reference for the present stage of the communist army's personnel system. But at present there exist many defects in the communist army's academy educational system. For example: the division of work in the training tasks of the primary-, middle-, and high-level command academies is not sufficiently clear, and there exist in the training content the problems of duplication and "general coarseness" from top to bottom. In enrollment, length of schooling, and courses offered, there are many things that are not as rational as they could be. (9) Therefore, how to perfect the academy educational system is still a matter of top priority for the communist army.

In establishing the "National Defense University," with regard to the objects of training and the educational content, the Chinese communists stress that they will "concentrate on training high-level command cadres and staff personnel and on training high-level theoretical research personnel, who will mainly study the high-level training content of strategy and campaigns." (10) The purpose is, by differentiating the basic training and the intermediate advanced training in the primary- and middle-level academies, to further strengthen the communist army's academy educational system.

E. Promote coordination between the armed forces and the local departments. In the past the communist army was always considered to be a closed organization. In recent years, because of the effect of the changes in the mainland society, there has widely appeared in the communist army the idea that "being a soldier means incurring losses." It has been necessary to placate the armymen by having the local "governments" formulate various methods of giving preferential treatment to their family members. In addition, since the communist army began its "streamlining and reorganization," several hundreds of thousands of cadres have been placed in the localities, imposing a heavy burden on them. Besides this, the communist army's "General Political Department" recently issued a "notice" calling on the communist army to give all-out support to local construction during the period of the "Seventh Five-Year" Plan. Because the opportunities for the army and the localities to come into contact and cause friction are increasing day by day, in order to let the leading cadres of the two sides have more time and opportunity to understand relevant problems, the Chinese communists have added to the "National Defense University" a "National Defense Research System." It will bring together the leading cadres of the army and the localities to study and jointly discuss relevant questions of "national defense strategy" in order to improve the capability of the cadres of the two sides for judging these questions.

F. Raise the standards of academic research in the academies. For a long time the communist army's military theory has revolved around the set pattern of "Mao Zedong Military Thought." After the communist army, in June 1985, publicly announced a change in the "strategic idea," it called for armywide research on new military theory. The "National Defense University" was made the key unit in research on questions of "armed forces building," political theory, and strategy, and it was made responsible for spurring on the research of armed forces academies. Therefore, the communist army's "National Defense University" added a research department and a research institute that

specialize in military theory, and stressed that the university was "both a teaching center and a scientific research unit."

G. Develop teachers for the communist army's academies. In the past the instructors at the communist army's command academies mainly came from the units. Because their quality was inferior, for a long time in academy education there existed the phenomenon of "elementary cycles." To resolve the difficulty of inadequate teachers, the communist army has selected from the newly established "National Defense University," which has fairly good teaching quality, teachers to form a specialized organization for training academy teachers in order to provide qualified teachers for the academies.

IV. Policy and Organization

The Chinese communists' policy in establishing the "National Defense University" stresses "with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought as the guide, with the strategic policy of active defense as the basis, and with teaching and scientific research as the means, to establish a combined arms command university of a comprehensive, research, and open nature oriented to modernization, oriented to the world, and oriented to the future in order to develop high-level cadres and theoretical research talents who meet the demands of national defense modernization and of modern warfare." (12) The "three orientations" mean "in being oriented to modernization, insisting on making practical problems the center, and studying and doing research on the problems of modernization in a focused way; in being oriented to the world, doing research on the world's economic, political, and military affairs, and also putting particular stress on making exchanges with foreign armies and doing research on the operational ideas of foreign armies; and in being oriented to the future, not only doing research on how to fight a war now, but also inquiring about hope to fight a war 10 or 20 years from now, and not only satisfying the current needs of the units but even more developing military command talents for the next century." (13)

The "National Defense University" has a commandant, political commissar, and deputy commandant. It is divided, according to professional requirements, into five departments--headquarters, political, logistics, training, and scientific research:

Headquarters: It has a chief of staff and a deputy chief of staff. Based on the directives of the university's "party committee," the senior officers, and the "Central Military Commission," it is responsible for drawing up the annual, term, monthly, special project, and wartime work plans, and is also responsible for inspecting the progress made on these plans.

Political Department: It has a director and a deputy director. Based on the directives of the university's "party committee" and "political commissar" and the "Central Military Commission," it manages the "party's" affairs of the "entire university," and organizes political education for the students and staff of the university. The Political Department has also set up a publishing house--the "National Defense University Publishing House."

Logistics Department: It has a director and a deputy director. Based on the directives of the university's "party committee," the senior officers, and the "Central Military Commission," it does the logistics support work for the entire university.

Training Department: It has a dean and assistant dean. It is responsible for enrolling and training each class of students at the "National Defense University." Under the Training Department are various teaching and research sections and educational organizations.

Scientific Research Department: It has a director and a deputy director. It is responsible for research on military academic theories. Under the Scientific Research Department are those research institutes--the Strategic Research Institute, the Marxism Research Institute, and the Military Construction Research Institute.

The principal leading personnel of the communist army's "National Defense University" are:

Commandant: Zhang Zhen [1728 7201]. Born in 1907, he studied in Soviet Russia. He came up through the communist army's "three field" system. He has been chief of staff of the "Third Field Army," deputy commandant and commandant of the "Nanjing Military College," deputy commander of the "Wuhan Military Region," deputy director and director of the "General Logistics Department," and deputy chief of staff of the "General Staff Department."

Political commissar: Li Desheng [2621 1795 3922]. Born in 1916, he is from Huang'an County in Hubei Province. He came up through the communist army's "two field" system. He has been commander of the 12th Army, commander of the "Anhui Provincial Military District," director of the "General Political Deaprtment," and commander of the "Shenyang Military Region."

Deputy commandant: Xu Fangchun [1776 5364 2504]. He is the former commandant of the communist army's "Logistics Academy."

Training Department dean: Xu Zhongxiang [1776 6988 4382].

Scientific Research Department director: Huang Yuzhang [7806 3768 4545].

V. Objects of Enrollment

The Chinese communists' "National Defense University" now offers five classes, the periods of schooling of which vary from 6 months to 2 years. Student enrollment will begin in the summer vacation time of this year (1986), and studies will begin on 1 September.

A. Basic faculty: this is an extension of the basic faculties of the communist army's three high-level command academies. It enrolls military, political, and logistics cadres at the division (brigade) level, and develops army-post leading cadres, army logistics department directors, as well as high-level staff personnel of organizations at the level of "large military regions" and above (the basic faculties of the communist army's former

military, political, and logistics academies enrolled division-level command cadres who had graduated from middle-level command academies and a small number of outstanding regiment-level command cadres, and turn them into high-level military, political, and logistics command cadres and high-level staff personnel).

For the communist army's cadres who are selected to study in the training classes of the basic faculty of the "National Defense University," it is stipulated that they must have undergone focused development by tempering in work at the basic level or have been scheduled to join a higher-level leading group; that those with full division (brigade) posts be under 45 years old and that those at deputy division (brigade) posts be under 42-- for outstanding persons 1 or 2 years of the age requirement may be relaxed; that they be recommended by their organization; and that they take the standard examination. There are three examination subjects: foundations of Marxism, composition, and either military or logistics affairs. Those with the best scores will be selected.

B. Advanced studies faculty: It is similar in nature to the past short-term "cadre pipeline training classes" in the communist army's three high-level command academies. For example, there was the "university graduate cadre pipeline-training class" in 1984 in the former "Military Academy" which had the aim of improving and adding to the cadres' knowledge.

The advanced studies faculty of the communist army's "National Defense University" enrolls military, political, and logistics command cadres at the full division (brigade) post level and above, and leading cadres of provincial military districts and of academies. It stipulates that the age must be 1 or 2 years lower than that of the maximum active service limit. With the examination and approval of this unit, in accordance with its jurisdiction over the appointment and dismissal of cadres, the candidate need not take the academy standard examination for entering the university.

C. National defense research faculty." This is a newly established faculty in the communist army's "National Defense University." It enrolls cadres at the provincial- and army-level and above of the communist army and the localities, and cadres at the department- and bureau-level of the ministries and commissions of the Chinese communists' "State Council." The first notice on enrolling students was jointly issued by the CPC's "Central Organization Work Department" and the communist army's "General Political Department" with distribution quotas to provinces, cities, and the Chinese communists' "State Council," to all general headquarters and service arms of the communist army, to the "National Defense Science, Technology, and Industry Commission," and to some "large military regions."

D. Graduate school: The graduate school of the Chinese communists'"National Defense University" is the second graduate school established by the communist army (the first is the graduate school of the "National Defense Science and Technology University"). It enrolls cadres at the level of university graduate or higher, and cadres who have graduated from middle- or high-level command academies (or who have an equivalent record of formal schooling), and who have completed a year or more in their present posts in the Communist

army. It develops them into command personnel, theoretical research personnel, and instructors with master's or doctor's degrees.

The graduate school of the communist army's "National Defense University" now has two groups of students. After the CPC approved in June 1985 the course list for completion of their doctor's or master's degrees in "military science," the first group were graduate students who obtained their master's degrees from the communist army's former "Military Academy" and or "Political Academy."

In September 1985, the communist army's former "Military Academy" restored "graduate student classes in military science," and enrolled 22 graduates in 3 disciplines and 8 specialities: military thought (including the formation and development of Mao Zedong military thought, Mao Zedong's thought on people's war and the strategy of active defense, and the Soviet army's military strategy thought); military campaign studies (including campaigns of mobile warfare, campaigns of positional warfare, and campaigns of resisting landings from the sea); and the history of warfare (including the history of the wars fought by the "People's Liberation Army" and the history of World War II). The former "Political Academy" gave three specialized courses--Marxist philosophy, Marxist political economies, and CPC history--for a total of 26 graduate students who had been enrolled.

E. Teacher training classes: They enroll graduating students of the communnist army's command academies and technical colleges. In the first term, priority will be given to training instructors for the "National Defense University," after which teachers will be trained in succession for the communist army's middle-level command academies.

Students of the first teacher training class in the communist army's "National Defense University" are 81 selected students (average age 23) in 56 specialities from the 15 engineering and technical colleges of the "National Defense Science and Technology University" who have already graduated with bachelor's degrees in science and engineering. After each one is trained in the communist army's primary- and middle-level command schools for half a year (September last year to August this year), they will continue their studies for 2 years in the teacher training class of the "National Defense University." They will take seven required courses, including military thought, strategic studies campaign studies, and military pedagogy, and 22 elective courses including military economics, military talent studies, and operations research. Then, after they go into the units in acting posts, after 1989 they will formally become teachers in the communist army's "National Defense University."

VI. Educational Facilities

The teaching facilities of the Chinese communists' "National Defense University" are divided into two main parts:

A. Library: The "library" was established on the basis of expanding the "books and reference materials collection" of the communist army's former "Military Academy." It is now the biggest library in the communist army's

academies, with a building area of 8,060 square meters. It is divided into three levels, and in it are a lecture hall, a catalogue room, a foreign visitor reception room, a computer room, as well as 20 large and small reading rooms, including one for microfilmed reference materials and one for video room reference materials, for the army and its service arms, with specially provided books and reference materials for students to borrow and read.

B. Teaching buildings: In the university's buildings are a film projection room, a large-screen television room, an electrical sandtable room, a computer audio-visual aids room, and a computer-assisted "room for two-sided training exercises by senior officers and commanders." In addition, in the teaching buildings of the "National Defense University" are set up different teaching and research sections by discipline, such as: a foreign army teaching and research section, a campaign teaching and research section, an all-service arm teaching and research section, a political work teaching and research section, a political economies teaching and research section, a Marxism-Leninism teaching and research section, and so forth. Based on the content of their different disciplines, students attend classes in their assigned teaching and research sections.

VII. Teaching Reform

On 18 December 1985, when receiving reporters of the "XINHUA News Agency," Zhang Zhen, commandant, and Li Desheng, political commissar of the "National Defense University," revealed: The "National Defense University" is preparing to make in the future the following principal teaching reforms:

A. Composite classes. It will put into practice the teaching forms of setting up faculties for composite classes composed of military, political, and logistics cadres, thereby changing the past method in which faculties were set up to train military, political, and logistics cadres separately, in order to meet the demands on the knowledge structure of armed forces high-level command cadres imposed by modernized warfare.

B. Reform of teaching content. Stress will be put on abolishing the cramming method of teaching and on adopting the "the teaching method in which study on one's own is primary, so that studying on one's own and coaching are integrated with on-the-spot observation and study, and teaching by full-time instructors is integrated with teaching by specialist scholars engaged outside the university." With regard to marking and examinations, with the writing of theses and their defense made primary, stress will be put on examining the students' actual ability to apply theoretical knowledge and to solve problems.

D. Strengthening of Scientific Research. Stress will be put on making the "National Defense University" "both a teaching and research center and a scientific research center."

E. Putting the "open door" into practice both internally and externally. Leaders of armies and specialist scholars of foreign countries will be invited to lecture at the "National Defense University," thus starting an academic interchange inside and outside the "country." Also, in a planned manner,

cadres, teachers, research personnel, and students will be selected to go abroad to observe and study and to lecture.

Various exchange activities have been started to "open the door" internally and externally, including:

1. The Strategic Research Institute of the Scientific Research Department has invited Xue Mouhong [5641 6180 3163], an expert on international issues in the Chinese communists' "Ministry of Foreign Affairs," and Zhang Jingyi [1728 7234 1837], assistant researcher of the American Affairs Institute in the "Chinese Academy of Sciences" and special researcher for London's International Strategic Research Institute and America's Rand Corporation, to be special advisers for the research institute. It has also engaged scholars and experts to be researchers. They will do extensive research on global or regional strategic issues, national defense policy and military strategy, the strategies of the principal military blocs and alliances, as well as the important branches of learning related to strategy, namely, schools of military theory, methodology for research on strategy, military cybernetics, and military futurology. (14)

2. A center in the communist army's Beijing area for coordination among the armed forces academies provides help in teachers and teaching facilities. In addition, in the middle part of February this year (1986), it was discovered that 11 instructors from the "National Defense University's" research department, foreign army research center, campaign research section, and all-service arm teaching and research section had been transferred to act as campaign theory teaching instructors in helping a certain "group army" of the "Shenyang Military Region" initiate the study of campaign theory. At the same time, the university has provided this "group army" with urgently needed teaching materials, study and reference materials, and data on training exercises. (15)

3. A certain teaching and research section of the Chinese communists' "National Defense University" and a certain research institute of the "General Staff Department" have cooperatively developed a "tactical command advisory special system," which uses computers to simulate a commander's decision-making ability, and is an instrument for helping commanders with automated decision-making advice. (16)

VIII. Analytic Opinions

A. Zhang Zhen, commandant of the Chinese communists' "National Defense University," studied in Soviet Russia in the thirties, and he is one of a small number of veteran cadres now in the communist army who have taken regularized military training in Soviet Russia. His appointment as commandant of the "National Defense University" means that the educational focus of this university from now on will be theoretical research on coping with the Soviet army's strategy and tactics.

The appointment of Li Desheng, who was for a long time commander of the Chinese communists' "Shenyang Military Region" and is also considered to be one of those who benefitted from the "Cultural Revolution," to be political commissar of the "National Defense University," besides being a promotion to a

position in the academy stemming from his individual prestige as "king of the Northeast," was also in order to have a pacifying effect on him as an individual and on the anti-Deng forces.

B. In name, the Chinese communists' "National Defense University" is a new-type high-level command academy, but viewed from its organization, personnel enrollment, and educational facilities, it still "follows the past in most aspects and blazes new trails in few aspects."

C. The Chinese communists' "National Defense University" stresses that its purpose is to "develop high-level cadres and theoretical research talents to meet the demands of national defense modernization and modern warfare." But at a "National Defense University political work conference," Yu Qiuli [0151 4428 6844], director of the Chinese communists' "General Political Department," stressed: "It is particularly important that students of the National Defense University first of all be of very high political quality, which includes a staunch party spirit and a good understanding of Marxist-Leninist theories and political standards ...." This shows that the final educational goal of the Chinese communists' "National Defense University" is still to improve the political quality of its students, and train them to uphold the idea that the "party" leads the "armed forces" and that the "party" leads the "state" in order to lay the foundation for the Chinese communists' party dictatorship.

D. Although the Chinese communists' "National Defense University" has begun to enroll personnel, it still faces the following difficult problems:

1. The leading cadres lack experience in running schools. Because for a long time the communist army has not attached importance to the education in its academies, the several newly appointed leaders of its "National Defense University" lack experience in running modern schools, a fact which poses an obstacle to reform measures in its academies that will be hard to pass over. Therefore, for one month's time beginning on 1 April this year (1986), the "National Defense University" specially ran a "concentrated training class on the science of leadership in the National Defense University," attended by the commandant, political commissar, and 62 leading cadres from all departments and teaching research sections in the university's organization and in the student corps. They listened to lectures on modern management methods by experts from the "National Defense Science, Technology, and Industry Commission," the "Academy of Military Science," the "Academy of Social Sciences," the "Talent Studies Research Society," and the "Science and Technology Training Center," (17) "making up deficiencies before the battle." However, under the circumstances in which the leading cadres at all levels lack the necessary level of education, lack the concepts of modern management, and have ingrained traditional, backward concepts, it is very hard for them to accept new concepts. Therefore, in the short term it will be extremely difficult to change the backward features in running schools.

2. It is hard to integrate "training" with "utilization." Although the communist army has time and again preached that the system of academy education must be integrated with cadre assignments, at present the communist army is influenced by the "leftist" ideology. In the promotion of cadres,

academy training is still not stressed, and there is a high degree of blindness. In addition, there are no strict rules and regulations, and after cadres graduate from academies, they are often transferred to civilian work or separated from the service. This being the case, isn't it rather worth doubting whether, after the reform of the communist army's high-level command academy system, graduating students of academies will get important posts in the communist army?

3. Lack of teachers and equipment. The teachers and the equipment of the Chinese communists' "National Defense University" come from the former military, political and logistics academies, and not only is the quality of the instructors uneven but also the teaching facilities are extremely old. For this reason, the Chinese communists' "National Defense University" is temporarily running "teacher training classes," the funds of some academies have been increased. However, the instructors who have undergone this crash training have only raised their educational level a very little, and they completely lack work and teaching experience. Also, their number is extremely limited. For a time it will be difficult to solve the problem of inadequate teachers in the communist army's academies. Also, the educational funds for the communist army's academies have always been inadequate, the newly increased funds can only solve some problems, and it will be difficult to discard obsolete educational facilities in a comprehensive fashion.

Notes

(1) 15 January 1986, Chinese communists' XINHUA News Agency, Beijing dispatch.

(2) 7 September 1982, Chinese communists' JIEFANGJUN BAO [LIBERATION ARMY DAILY--LAD], "Fifteenth in Series of Talks on the History of Military Schools--Great Change With Birth of Nanjing Military Academy."

(3) 9 May 1984, LAD, "Make Long-Range Plans, Build First-Rate High-Level Command Schools."

(4) 27 July 1985, LAD, "Reform of Army's Academy System About To Start."

(5) 15 January 1986, XINHUA News Agency, Beijing dispatch.

(6) Ibid (5)

(7) 22 February 1983, LAD, "Be Farsighted in Investing in Talented Persons."

(8) 9 January 1986, LAD, page 2, "Major Change in History of Our Army's Education."

(9) Ibid (8)

(10) Ibid (8)

(11) 18 December 1985, XINHUA News Agency, Beijing dispatch.

(12) Ibid (11)

(13) Ibid (8)

(14) 3 June 1985, LAD, page 1, "Military Academy Begins Strategic Research."

(15) 4 March 1986, LAD, page 1, "Draw Support Fron Academy Forces, Organize Campaign Training."

(16) 14 March 1986, LAD, page 1, "First Military Experts Systems Research Class in Our Army Run in Beijing."

(17) 1 May 1986, LAD, page 2, "Become Better Educated, Change Concepts."

9727
CSO: 4005/943

MILITIA INVOLVEMENT IN XICHANG SATELLITE LAUNCH

Chengdu XI'NAN MINBING [SOUTHWEST MILITIA] in Chinese No 4, 10 Apr 86 pp 16-17

[Article by Ren Youyin [0117 2589 6892] and Ceng Xiangrong [2582 4382 2837]: "Bodyguards Under the Silver Lines"]

[Text] The night of 1 February 1986, at China's Xichang Satellite Launch Center.

A steel gantry frame over 60 meters high stood majestically in the middle of the launching site. A huge silvery white carrier rocket stood tall and upright on the launch pad close to the gantry frame. An earth-synchronous communications satellite fitted on top of the rocket was like a fairy maiden floating in the air who was about to leave the embrace of her earth mother and fly into the vast, boundless starry space.

"Thirty-minute preparation!"

"Fifteen-minute preparation!"

The commander's words of command through silver lines at the main launch area were transmitted to the capital Beijing, to the monitoring center, and to the aerial survey fleet awaiting orders on the Pacific Ocean....

"Final one-minute preparation!" The automatic ignition procedure began.

"59,58,57..." Second by second the twinkling green numbers on the inverse number timer progressively decreased.

"Ignition!" Following a tremendous "boom" like the sound of muffled thunder, the earth trembled slightly. From the rocket's tail spurted a dazzling, reddish orange flame. The slender, pretty rocket body left the ground, rose steeply, and headed for outer space....

At this moment it was 2036 hours Beijing time.

"The satellite launch was successful!" Vehicle after vehicle and group after group of Yi nationality compatriots wearing bright colored clothes came in an endless stream. They cheered and jumped, immersed in incomparable jubilation

and happiness. At this moment, not fearing the wind, snow, and severe cold, the militia were fighting day and night in jungles and high mountains, painstakingly guarding the communication lines!

In the midwinter season, braving wind and snow, we followed the communication lines into Sichuan and interviewed the militia guarding the lines. Here we only select from the countless endless flow of stories glittering with the brilliance of communist ideology a few sparkling sprays for our dear readers.

Clearing Thorny Undergrowth To Open Routes

"Tingaling..." A short telephone ring. Twelve carriers in two maintenance stations in Xinshi Town and a certain county simultaneously warned: the pilot frequency has disappeared.

"Make immediate rush-repairs and get the line through as fast as possible." A responsible person of the leading group for the satellite launch communications system gave the rush-repair order.

The line rush-repair fendui riding in trucks rushed to the spot. The fighters saw two electric poles more than 200 meters from the road, exactly like two sentries full of energy. They stood on two hilltops about 150 meters apart. However, in the more than 200 meters from the road to the electric poles, there were bushes and tangled grass as high as a man, and it was impossible to pass through them. One fighter, planting his feet behind him, parted the thorny undergrowth with his two hands and explored the way forward. He had not taken two steps when his hands and face were pricked until blood flowed by the thorny undergrowth and he had to turn back.

What was to be done? The fighters were burning with impatience.

"Liberation Army comrades, please take a rest. I'll be back in a moment with militiamen who will open a path for you. Chen Zhiming [7115 1807 2494], director of the People's Armed Forces Department of Longshui Township, who had come with the rush-repair fendui, seeing the situation, immediately rushed back to the township to organize militiamen to open a route.

Unfortunately, the weather let them down and rain fell at this time. Director Chen, led more than 10 militiamen to brave wind and rain on a muddy path, all the way running as if they were skating, as they rushed to the scene. The militiamen took turns in wielding choppers to hack away the rank grass and thorny undergrowth. Under their hands, a path that a single man could get through was continuously extended forward. In less than an hour, this "sidewalk" emerged under the choppers of the militiamen. The line rush-repair fighters climbed up the electric poles to make checks and repairs. In only 30 minutes they fixed the breakdown and restored normal communications and liaison on this line. When the command post commended this rush-repair fendui, the fighters said in unison: "It was thanks to the vigorous support of the militia!"

Making Every Minute and Second Count in Battling a Landslide

On the morning of 1 February, a Beijing-brand military vehicle, puffing and blowing, slowly climbed a winding precipitous road. When it came to Mapan Mountain in Pingshan County, it suddenly stopped with a snapping sound. Riding in the vehicle were four fighters of a certain communications head station of the military region whose job was to check lines. Unexpectedly, on reaching this point the vehicle had encountered a big landslide, and the earth and rocks of all shapes and sizes that had collapsed amounted to as much as more than 100 cubic meters. A huge rock about five or six cubic meters in size, like a mighty lion, lay across the road blocking their way.

Just when the fighters were at their wit's end, Tian Chaoqing [3944 3390 3237], director of the Longhua District People's Armed Forces Department, leading 23 militiamen, who were carrying steel drill rods, hoes, shovels, and other tools, rushed to the scene.

Director Tian divided his men into several teams. Some moved rocks and some shoveled earth. In less than 3 hours, the small rocks and earth that had piled up on the road were pushed away and only the huge rock remained. Director Tian had everybody grasp the steel rods and heave together, but no matter how they pried and bent here and there, this "stumbling block" remained absolutely still. What to do? A militiaman suggested that they blow it up with explosives. Looking at the communication lines in the air, Director Tian thought: If we blow it up, this would of course be quick, but the flying rocks would cut the electric lines. Wouldn't this be a case of outsmarting ourselves? Sticking his hands in his pockets, Director Tian paced up and down the road, pondering a question in his mind: If we found some stone masons to come and break up the rock, although it would take a little time, the lines would not be endangered. Wouldn't this be a case of satisfying both sides! "Yes, this is the way to do it!" He found eight militiamen who could do masonry. Braving whirling snow and facing winds of force six or seven, they worked with a clatter. The militiamen made concerted efforts and worked in unity, finally completing the task of removing the landslide at 4 pm. When the line patrol unit's vehicle passed over the landslide section, they were happy smiles on the faces of Director Tian and the militiaman.

Abandoning the Small Family To Take Care of the Big "Family"

If you are given the choice of using money to build a "cozy nest" or of taking a rugged path full of thorny undergrowth, which way should you go? If your family's needs and the motherland's call simultaneously beckon to you, to which side should you add the standard weights for an ideal balance? With their practical actions the militiamen safeguarding communication lines have answered these questions.

Wu Zhiquan [0702 1807 0356], commander of the militia company of Xiaomiao Township in Xichang City, is the head of a transport specialized household. Every day he makes at least 70 or 80 yuan. Before the turn of the year, quite a number of family units signed transport contracts with him and were waiting for him to transport goods. His wife had borne a child 2 days ago, and he was much needed at home! Early in the morning on 30 January, Wu Zhiquan was

preparing to drive his truck to the supply and marketing department to haul for it special purchases for the Spring Festival when he ran into the director of the township's people's armed forces department. He immediately jumped down from his truck and asked the director if anything was going on. With a smile the director said: "A satellite is about to be put up, and the militia of our township has the mission of safeguarding the communication lines. But I know your situation, and you don't have to take part."

"What is this? I'm the commander of the 1st Company. How can I miss this critical moment?" The director was unable to dissuade him and in the end had to agree. Wu Zhiquan's wife had just given birth to a child, and there would be no one at home to take care of them. His wife would not let him go, Wu Zhiquan worked with her patiently, and asked a neighbor to look after his home while he took part in the battle to safeguard the lines. Every day, just as the sky was turning light, leading the militiamen and shouldering tools for safeguarding the lines, he tramped over hill and dale, and not until all the lines on the more than 200 electric poles that the company was responsible for were painstakingly inspected did he return to base. He also helped the Liberation Army to chip ice off the lines and check and debug the circuits.

On the night that the satellite was launched, when the rocket rose into the sky and sped high above, Wu Zhiquan and the militiamen were at the side of electric poles in a remote mountain gorge guarding them and shedding tears of excitement. How much rich meaning there was in these tears!

Actually, persons like Wu Zhiquan and stories like his are too numerous to mention. According to incomplete statistics, in this large force that safeguards communication lines, there were more than 100 militiamen who took the initiative to overcome their family difficulties, put individual interests in the back of their minds, postponed wedding dates, and would not stay in the hospital when they were sick in order to consciously contribute to safeguarding the communication lines so as to insure that the satellite was put up safely.

The Aspirations of "Outside-Establishment" Militia Who Safeguarded the Communication Lines

In this battle to safeguard communication lines, the militia who did not have the mission of safeguarding the lines still, like the masses who supported the Red Army, with selfless feelings and in various kinds and types. poured their own aspirations into one cause--insuring unimpeded communications and liaison so as to add another Chinese star to the firmament.

Here we cite an example picked at random.

Xiao Hua [5135 5478] and Lin Li [2651 7787], workers and militia members of the farm family road maintenance squad in Changhe Township, Leibo County, were a newly married couple on their "honeymoon." For this newly married couple, the "honeymoon" was so happy and sweet! However, the militia of the eighties are able to correctly handle the relationship between love, marriage, and family on the one hand and their work on the other hand.

On 19 January, a certain communications fendui of the Chengdu Military Region, braving wind, snow, and severe cold, at a time of absolute dark came here to pitch a camp and safeguard communication lines. All around them was brightly white snow; in front there was no village and in back there was no farm. In this vast sea of snow there was only one low house--a residence of the workers of the road maintenance squad. The fighters were all perfectly clear about the situation. Everybody quickly erected their tent beside the road maintenance squad.

"Liberation Army comrades, you came from far away to safeguard communication lines and are very tired. It is very cold here. You stay in our house." Xiao Hua and Lin Li were afraid that if these 18- and 19-year-old fighters passed a night in a tent with a temperature about a dozen degrees below zero, they would be chilled, so they went inside the tent and spoke to the fighters.

Seeing a "double happiness" paper-cut pasted to a window as a decoration, and seeing that they were a newly married couple, the fighters would not agree.

Blushing, Xiao Hua and Lin Li insisted that the seven fighters go into the new house, and the two of them stayed in the fighters' tent.

After this, every day Xiao Hua and Lin Li helped the fighters to boil water, rinse vegetables, wash rice, and prepare meals. Sometimes when they had a day off they went up the mountains with the fighters to inspect lines and chip ice. Their words and deeds deeply touched the fighters.

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CSO: 4005/913

POLITICAL UNDERCURRENTS ANALYZED, CLASH TERMED INEVITABLE

Taipei TZULI WANPAO in Chinese 21 Aug 86 p 2

[Article by Yan Wenshuan [7346 2429 7025]: "Ways to Diffuse a Political Time Bomb in Taiwan"]

[Text] Beneath the superficial tranquility in the domestic political scene runs a surging and turbulent undercurrent.

A wave of party organizing is raging outside the party. A meeting held in Taipei to explain the formulation of a constitution for a party drew tens of thousands of people, a show of public enthusiasm that has greatly encouraged non-party personalities. There is a rising clamor for party organizing outside the party and a minority of radical elements are even jockeying for position in the forefront of the movement. Within the ruling party itself, people are watching the escalation in mass street activities closely and anxiously. Voices calling for drastic action have become louder and louder, and the conservative forces are gaining the upper hand.

Clash Becomes Inevitable as Confrontation Sharpens

If this situation continues, non-party radical elements are bound to upgrade their street activities, accompanied by a corresponding stiffening in the position of the conservative camp. The two feed on each other, probably making a clash inevitable. If by any chance a clash does occur, society must pay a heavy price: Political stability will be severely undermined, economic prosperity will be affected, investors will be even more reluctant to invest, and the capital outflow will worsen. Even more important, will public confidence be shaken? How can international pressures be overcome? All this must be considered.

Although the present political situation resembles the conditions in 1968 before the Kaoshiung incident, there are objective differences between the two both domestically and internationally. As far as the nature and intensity of political activities outside the party are concerned, there are obviously more politically active elements now than before. They are scattered all over, from north to south. Their modes of operations are also more extreme than previously. This is particularly true for a handful of radical elements who have an utterly reckless attitude and dash about madly. The impending

election is an added incentive to all groups and factions to pull out all stops to impress the public and win their applause and support with rhetoric. After the split in the non-party camp, non-party personalities have gone to even greater lengths to "distance themselves from the ruling party as much as possible." The result is a bewildering display of bizarre gimmicks. After the effort to establish the non-party Kongcheng Hui ran into difficulties, the clamor for a party emerged in response to the times.

The Idea of Party Organizing Gains Support

It should be noted that although many people do not approve of and are even fed up with the verbal excesses of some non-party figures, they tend to support the notion of organizing a party and constitutional rule. Take, for instance, the second meeting held in Taipei to explain the organization of a party. Tens of thousands of people turned up. The response was so enthusiastic that it cannot be ignored. The joint function organized by the Kongcheng Hui and Pianlian Hui at the playground of Chongshan National Primary School can be described as the largest political gathering after the election of delegates to the political opinion expression meeting. Above the playground the hallways of three stories of classrooms all overflowed with people. Some were merely curious and some were there for fun. Some were the core supporters of non-party organizations. But there were also large numbers of people who supported the demand for a party, as borne out by the strong response at the meeting and the fact that it lasted almost 4 hours. While occasional murmurs were heard in 1968 for the "organization of a party without being called a party," it is only now that non-party figures clearly articulate their demand. This too differentiates the present from the past.

Apart from domestic differences, external conditions are also dissimilar. Although some foreigners did express their concern back then, some Americans are much more actively concerned and involved today. For instance, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives has adopted a resolution aimed at promoting democracy in Taiwan. Democratic Congressmen have set up the "Society for the Promotion of Democracy in Taiwan." Other Americans too have shown increasing interest in the domestic political situation, as indicated by the recent visit to Taiwan by the chairman of the international affairs council of the Democratic Party, [Ai Yu Te]. At the same time, the Public Affairs Association of Taiwanese in the United States and the Association of Taiwan Professors in North America have also become more active and influential. The same cannot be said for 1968. Certainly a nation should do what it thinks is best for it; it should not be dictated to by other countries. But given its over-dependence on the United States, Taiwan is in a delicate situation and its actions are inevitably constrained by others. For this reason, it must weigh every major policy most carefully to avoid any negative side effects.

Avoiding Unrest Is Top Priority

Because of the fast approaching election at year's end, the party organizing movement unleashed by non-party personalities is like a runaway horse probably beyond the control of anybody. We all expect the handful of radicals to do their best to jump the gun by forming a party first. At a time when some non-

party people are calling for the establishment of parties, the ruling party has declared time and again that it cannot remain indifferent in the face of all the talk about "seizing power" and "forming a government." It is only natural that the conservative wing in the party, which favors taking a harder line, is on the upswing.

Taiwan cannot afford any disturbances. Everybody recognizes that. Despite its extraordinary economic achievements and national prosperity, the Chinese Communist threat on the other side of the waters still remains. Any disturbance will completely undo the economic miracle wrought by the whole people. Accordingly, how we prevent the clash between the party and non-party forces from escalating and avoid a possible conflict is unquestionably the most important issue facing us.

At this pivotal juncture, people inside and outside the party should exercise their utmost wisdom and patience. Non-party people, why not practice self-restraint, lower the temperature of the mass movement, and cool the confrontation? On the other hand, it is not easy for the ruling party to impose a total ban on the party organizing movement. Why not make a virtue of necessity and allow the non-party Kongcheng Hui to be formally established, or let it be registered under certain conditions and amend the charter for private organizations during the period of political tutelage as soon as possible? Alternatively, the ruling party can tacitly recognize its existence and permit it to operate without actually recognizing its legality. As for party organizing, it is the trend of the times and cannot be reversed. Although the situation is such that the ruling party cannot allow parties right now, the central policy-making unit may pass a resolution instructing the 12-member central study group currently deliberating the ban on parties to consider drawing up a party law and submit a draft by a certain date so that the legislative process can be completed. In so doing, the ruling party can show its sincerity and its commitment to party politics. The resultant law can be the legal basis for the registration of political parties. If the minority of radical elements are still impatient to form a party before the legislative process is completed, the government agency concerned can then deal with them as provided by law, with less severe side effects than otherwise.

Political Undercurrent Is Worrisome

Will the present political undercurrent disappear, leaving not a trace? Or will it whip up a wave of disturbance or even a stormy sea that spells total disaster? No one knows. How can it not but make us sick with worry?

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CSO: 4005/967

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JPRS-CPS-86-079

17 OCTOBER 1986

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

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JPRS-CPS-86-079
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CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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40-NATION CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT CLOSES

OW300754 Beijing XINHUA in English 0547 GMT 30 Aug 86

[Text] Geneva, 29 August (XINHUA)--The 40-nation conference on disarmament ended its summer session today without any progress on the major topics except on a proposed chemical weapons ban.

Miljan Komatina of Yugoslavia, the conference's secretary general, said at the end of the three-month negotiations here that "no spectacular progress has been registered" on its primary topics, such as the prohibition of nuclear testing, the prevention of nuclear wars and world-wide disarmament. But, he said, the participants are close to an agreement on a chemical weapons ban and he expected it could be signed by 1987.

Reportedly, the Soviet Union, revising its previous stands, told the conference it would accept on-site inspection called for by the Western countries in the proposed chemical weapons ban to prevent any cheating.

But the United States and the Soviet Union, the two countries whose positions are vital for the conclusion of the chemical weapons ban, remain divided on the means for the inspection. They also differ on ways to guard against the conversion of civilian factories into chemical arms ones.

During the current session, the Soviet delegate Viktor Issraelyan blamed the United States for the deadlocks in the disarmament talks, accusing Washington of "inflexible stands" and demanding it "adopt a responsible attitude."

On the other hand, the U.S. chief delegate Donald Lowitz stressed that in prohibiting either chemical weapons or nuclear testing, effective inspection measures are "vital." He described the Soviet position as "unconstructive."

Many participants, including China, while welcoming certain signs of progress, expressed disappointment at the deadlocks over the major issues. They called on the United States and the Soviet Union, which possess the largest stocks of nuclear and chemical weapons, to change their attitude and show sincerity in the negotiations.

An Algerian delegate said the rivalry of the two superpowers for military superiority is the root cause of the arms race and he pointed out that the only solution to disarmament lies in the two countries' renunciation of such rivalry.

The next session of the disarmament conference will start here next February.

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BRIEFS

USSR-U.S. RELATIONS--Moscow, 3 September (XINHUA)--Senior Soviet party official Anatoliy Dobrynin and U.S. industrialist Armand Hammer today stressed the need to expand trade, economic, scientific and cultural ties between the two countries, the official news agency TASS reported. Dobrynin, secretary of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee, agreed with Hammer, chairman of the Board of the U.S. Occidental Petroleum Corporation, that the Soviet Union and the United States must improve their relations. The two men said the two countries should take measures to remove the danger of war, normalize bilateral relations and better the entire international situation. The expansion of trade, economic, scientific and cultural ties could play an "important role" in furthering Soviet-U.S. relations, they added. On Tuesday, the Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov met Hammer and the two discussed how to expand the two countries' trade and economic relations. Observers here point out that Hammer has come to Moscow just weeks before the meeting between U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in New York on 19-20 September. The New York meeting is to arrange a second summit between U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 2351 GMT 3 Sep 86 OW] /12913

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PLA'S YU QILI SAYS MARX, MAO MUST GUIDE ART

HK110742 Hong Kong AFP in English 0621 GMT 11 Sep 86

[Text] Beijing, 11 September (AFP)--China's art and literature need the guidance of Marxism and Mao Zedong thought, China's top commissar said in an open rebuttal Thursday to a recent call by Chinese writers to take up the banner of humanism.

Yu Qili, director of the People's Liberation Army Political Department, told a meeting called by the Research Institute on Marxist Literary Theory that it was the leadership of Marxism and "firm faith in communism" which had made the Chinese revolution possible, the PEOPLE'S DAILY said.

"In the past we relied on this, at present we rely on this and in the future we will rely on this," Gen Yu said. "We must continue seeking truth under the flag of Marxism."

Analysts said Gen Yu's remarks were in open contradiction to a recent high-profile address by Chinese critic Liu Zaifu on the question of China's current cultural developments.

Mr Liu's speech, to 200 leading writers and critics here Sunday, was printed in full in the PEOPLE'S DAILY on Monday and appeared to reflect the current view of avid reformist leaders such as Communist Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang, the analysts said.

Mr Liu urged that literature be freed from political constraints, and said the contradiction between humanism and class struggle would remain the main issue in Chinese artistic circles for many years to come.

"Our literature today should take socialist humanism as its banner," said Mr Liu, who made not a single mention of Marxism in his entire address.

Gen Yu's remarks were summarized in a brief report which was given less prominent display, despite his position as a member of the ruling Communist Party Politburo.

That the two comments should both appear in the PEOPLE'S DAILY indicated that the leadership was continuing to debate the role that Marxism and Mao Zedong thought should play in Chinese cultural circles, the analysts said.

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CSO: 4000/2

ZHANG XIANLIANG ON SOCIAL REFORM, LITERATURE

HK111405 Beijing WENYI BAO in Chinese 23 Aug 86 p 2

[Article by Zhang Xianliang [1728 6343 0081]: "Social Reform and Flourishing Literature -- A letter to Wen Yuankai"]

[Text] Editor's note: At present, an overall reform is being carried out in our country. Writers have also concerned themselves with the reform. They have not only realistically depicted reform in their works, but have also pondered theoretical questions concerning the reform and literature and art. In this article, Comrade Zhang Xianliang gives his opinions in this regard. It is published here for our readers. [end editor's note]

Comrade Yuankai:

I was very glad to receive your letter and the text of your speech in Shenzhen after returning from Beijing. What makes me even gladder is that writers' opinions are not neglected by the people who are responsible for pondering questions concerning reform of the social economy and political structure.

I always hold that there are close relations between contemporary Chinese writers and those who are actually engaged in various reforms. When the reformers throughout the country experience good circumstances, writers also feel "relaxed," but when the former meet with troubles, the latter will also have troubles. This is just like the weather turning from cloudy to overcast, or blowing B-wind ["B"-feng 7364] as Wang Meng put it. This is almost a law, as it happens often. If you do not believe this, we can still wait and see. This shows that there are certain internal relationships between social reforms and the flourishing of literature. It was based on this understanding that I invited you to Xiangshan Hotel last year to meet some of my friends who are engaged in literary work--Feng Jicai, Zheng Wanlong, and Li Tuo. On that day, perhaps due to the presence of some reporters, I felt that none of us spoke out freely. It seems that things are a bit different this year. This is a period of "good times" for us. Therefore, I would like to boldly speak out about what is really on my mind.

I agree with you that in the course of history, certain traditions of the national culture have become heavy burdens. In this challenging era of reform and opening up to the outside world, analyzing, criticizing, and transforming the substructure of Chinese culture have become our

imperative tasks. The writers have also turned to this point, as if by prior agreement. In recent years we can find that there are many good pieces among the so-called "retrospective" literature, "root-seeking" literature," or even vulgar literature. Although some of their styles and contents are very "strange" and they do not attract many readers, they show the writers' courage to go counter to traditions and show that they have taken it as their duty to analyze and criticize the substructure of Chinese culture. In essence, a true writer (not necessarily a good writer) always concerns himself with society and with politics. We can believe that in the years of reform and opening up, writers will always stand in the forefront, shoulder to shoulder with all the reforms throughout our country, and take up the challenge of history with them. The book "Half of Man Is Woman," which has been called a "sex novel," is in fact a book appealing for overall reform in the political, economic, and philosophical arenas.

However, in the current lively and fruitful mass discussion on the question of social reforms in China, I have a slightly different opinion on the argument that "China's social reforms should first rely upon the reform of concepts [guannian 6034 1819]." When you made your recent speech in Shenzhen, it seemed that you also emphasized this point. You said that "the Chinese nation will not be able to advance unless there is a profound 'explosion' [baopo 3615 4275] in ideological concepts," and that we should overcome "ossified culture" by means of "tolerance, comprehension, and respect." What I worry about is that the substructure of Chinese culture, or the powerful inertia of traditional culture, is usually not so easily recognized by the people, but it has stubbornly dominated modern men's modes of thinking and forming value judgments. I always feel that there is some similarity in thought between "taking the reform of concepts as a prerequisite for China's social reform" and the past emphasis on "ideological remolding." As a tradition of the Chinese people since ancient times, the ways to transform the external world are always correcting one's own mind, having good faith, cultivating one's moral character, managing one's household well, administering one's country well, and bringing peace and order to the land. In China, the Marxist principle that man can be remolded only in the course of transforming the external world seems to exist in concept only, or is even put the other way round: Man must remold himself well before he is able to transform the external world "better" and "correctly." I discussed this in my book "Green Trees." Unfortunately, few people understand the "revelation" of the second part of the so-called "revelations of the materialists" in this book even to this day.

Both of us have been to the United States. I believe we have a common view on the following fact: The Americans always do concrete things before saying anything or say something while doing. But we Chinese are used to having discussions before doing anything, "discussing principles or ideological guidelines before dealing with concrete matters," or simply doing nothing at all even after repeated discussions. We can find more "empty talk" today even than in the Wei and Jin dynasties, and this forms a key factor in the inherited properties of the Chinese nation.

In China's longstanding feudal society, a unique, ultra-stable [chao wending 6389 4489 1353] social structure was formed. The traditional Chinese culture also became ultra-stable psychological factor and way of thinking of the Chinese nation. But all this can only be maintained and developed in a closed society. At present we are implementing the policy of opening up to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy. Since this is an economic policy, it has engendered changes in various sectors of our society, including the superstructure. Of these changes, the change in concepts -- the most sensitive and expressive sector -- is most obvious and extensive. All the sufferings of our nation can be summed up as follows: For some people, while their concepts have changed, they find that realities do not change simultaneously. For some other people, they find that realities have changed, but their concepts have not. As a result, there has appeared a situation of "all people are grumbling and complaining."

The suffering of the latter are sufferings of decline, but those of the former are sufferings of the times. Therefore, we cannot say that we still need to change our concepts before starting to transform society, because this can only deepen the sufferings of the times and may finally lead to an "explosion" in society. Indignation and sufferings create poets and all kinds of reformers. At present, what we need to do is to support the reformers in their efforts to reform the realities, the external world, and various structures and systems. Only in the course of reform can we change the inertia in our inner world and that of some other people which has been caused by traditional culture and mentality.

Marx said: Morality and fame form the ruling ideology of feudal society. However, the bourgeoisie did not wait until freedom and equality became a ruling ideology in society before they started to transform the world according to their will. They always act in their interests and in accordance with their will before saying anything. When capitalist economic relations were gradually established in society, the concepts of freedom and equality were also gradually popularized and became universal. Therefore, I am basically in favor of the four principal measures you have proposed for transforming the substructure of traditional Chinese culture: expanding major industrial production, accepting the establishment of a commodity economy, welcoming the high-technology era, and advocating democracy, freedom, and a legal system. But I think we can emancipate our minds a bit further and go deeper into the matter. You said: "In the past we often emphasized that China lacks capitalism and needs to make up this missed lesson or even allow the existence of capitalism, including the idea of one country, two systems. However, we still cannot talk about capitalism, because due to longstanding educational practice of the past, whenever capitalism is mentioned, it is readily linked with making people suffer for the second time. This is a conditioned reflex that many people fear, because it may cause a split among them. The theoretical workers have made a great breakthrough. What kind of socialism should China develop? It is called the socialism of the planned commodity economy. China does not lack capitalism, but a commodity economy, and the commodity economy is insurmountable."

The reason I feel that you have not given a thorough explanation of the question is that the commodity economy is only an economic form, but capitalism is a form of society. The conclusion drawn by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee that the socialist economy is a planned commodity economy is an accurate conclusion, because it places this kind of economy within the category of an economic form rather than regarding it as an insurmountable social form. As a kind of social form in the development of human society, capitalism is insurmountable. You said the theoretical workers have made a great breakthrough in this respect, but in my opinion, it is but a great concession by them. As we all know, in the history of Marxist ideology, after the deaths of Marx and Engels, only Lenin ever clearly and profoundly affirmed the important role and insurmountability of capitalism in the development of human history (see the debates between Lenin and Bukharin during 1918 and 1923). We must not surrender ourselves to the feeling and mentality of fear, which is a result of ultra-"leftist" ideology. Now it is time for us theoretical workers to make great efforts to "redress" all "slanders and libels" which have been imposed on capitalism. The "rehabilitaiton" of capitalism will enable us to better resolve our current problems in the political and economic reforms as well as in the reform of our legal system.

The fundamental reason why we have encountered so many difficulties and setbacks in building socialism is that we have not had a historical period of highly developed capitalism. Most people hold the same view on this point. Excluding the past or the future, just in our current reform we can feel that we are often obstructed by both the invisible "substructure of traditional Chinese culture" or conservative thinking resulting from long-standing Chinese cultural and mental influences, and the visible ultra-stable society -- the political structure. These visible and invisible things become a closely woven net before us, often making us feel badly battered and unable to move a single step forward.

At the same time, along with the implementation of the policy of opening up to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy, serious unhealthy tendencies have appeared within our party and numerous economic crimes have emerged in an endless stream. The mean tricks and brazenness of these cases are even rare in a capitalist country. Obviously, they do not reflect the nature of capitalism but have a marked feudalist color and flavor. What shall we do in view of this historical fact? Of course we must not take a road back to start developing capitalism and wait until capitalism is highly developed before building socialism. However, the experiences of capitalism are especially valuable for us in view of this historical fact. Lenin said: "We cannot imagine that there is a form of socialism other than the one based on all the experiences obtained by capitalist culture." As we all know, there is still not a successful model of socialism for us, but there are some ready examples of modern capitalism. Therefore, an urgent task for us at present is to reform our ultra-stable society as regards the political structure, while developing the commodity economy and promoting the social productive forces and with reference to the political, judicial, administrative, and personnel systems

of capitalist society as well as their methods of vertical economic guidance and lateral economic ties. Without reforming the political structure, it will be very difficult for us to promote the social productive forces and develop the commodity economy and to win victory in the world challenge.

To "rehabilitate" capitalism and take modern capitalist experiences and patterns as our references in transforming society in regard to the political structure of our own country is by no means an expression of our weakness in history but an expression of our revolutionary courage in theory and history!

Next, I would like to speak about my own profession, literature.

Undoubtedly, an unprecedented prosperous situation has appeared in the new period of Chinese literature since the "May 4th Movement." Of course, we owe all this to the implementation of the "double hundred" policy. Although there have been some relapses every now and then since 1978, as we have to firmly and unremittingly implement the economic policy of opening up to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy, and the principle of reform in order to meet world challenges, the implementation of the "double hundred" policy in the ideological and cultural fields is also imperative under current circumstances. The reform of society and the development of literature have followed a winding road, but they have never stopped. To enable us to advance more smoothly and quickly, I think it is necessary for us to gain a deeper and more scientific understanding of the "double hundred" policy now. In this connection, I would like to offer my viewpoints here and hope to receive some advice.

In the past, it was generally understood that the "double hundred" policy consists of two parts: "Letting a hundred schools of thought contend" refers to the theoretical, ideological, and academic fields, while "letting a hundred flowers blossom" refers to literature and art. In my opinion, these two do not parallel each other. Their relationship is one of principal and subordinate. The key to whether "a hundred flowers" can "blossom" lies in whether "a hundred schools of thought" can "contend." The latter is a prerequisite for the former. The proposition of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend" also has two meanings: 1) The maturity of a nation is chiefly reflected by its philosophical thought, or its understanding of the world. Literature and art are developed on the basis of this philosophical thought or the development of this understanding. 2) Whether "a hundred schools of thought" can "contend" freely without hesitation and whether a variety of opinions can be debated on the basis of equality are yardsticks of freedom in our society. Only with this premise can we talk about what to write, how to write, and whether the writers have problems. For this reason, I would like to focus on the question of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend."

When the policy of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend" was first advanced by the CPC, represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, my understanding of it was that it includes the "school" of the bourgeoisie. Comrade Mao Zedong

once said: In the final analysis, a hundred schools can be boiled down to only two schools: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Although it was a bit too absolute to say this, it had some merit. If the "contention among a hundred schools of thought" is restricted within the bounds of contention among various academic schools and different understandings in the proletarian class, it can only become contention over trivial matters. This closed form of "contention" is of no help to the furthering of understanding and the development of science.

Therefore, in order to really implement the policy of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend," it is necessary to allow the mouthpieces of bourgeois ideology to have the right to speak openly. All men are equal before the truth, and all men are equal before the law. Any person, including the mouthpiece of bourgeois ideology, has the right to publish his writings so long as they do not advocate a national split, armed rebellion, or armed subversion. The bourgeoisie I am talking about here does not refer to the so-called "bourgeoisie" political label put on most intellectuals in those years, but to true representatives of bourgeois academic thought. We often are astonished in the face of the "class struggle in the ideological field." In fact, this is a gratifying phenomenon, because it is a symbol of democracy and a historical opportunity for us to develop Marxiam and bring ourselves closer to the truth. As a Marxist and a dialectical materialist, I will feel lonely and uncomforable if I only allow myself to speak while oppressing the other side. If we use our power to seal the mouths of the opposite side, it will be a scathing satire on Marxism. Let us leave aside this small angle and look at the problem from a larger view. In the historical stage of implementing the principle of one country, two systems, when Hong Kong returns to the embrace of the motherland and the trend of reunification between Taiwan and the mainland develops further, the "double hundred" policy will certainly have new content. We cannot imagine that proletarian Marxism can be spread in the capitalist regions, but in the socialist regions on the same territory, bourgeois academic thought and literature and art are regarded as fierce floods and savage beats and are banned and criticized, yet this kind of socialism can enjoy a good reputation in the world and can win people over. In the political and economic fields, we can estalbish special zones, but in the ideological and cultural fields, we should not and cannot establish special zones.

On the mainland China, the class structure has already changed. The bourgeoisie no longer exists as an independent class. But all kinds of non-Marxist, non-socialist, idealist, or even anti-Marxist ideas will continue to exist for a long time. This is a fact and a normal social phenomenon among the people. The more developed the society, the more active the people's thinking becomes. In communist society, in which personal freedom is fully developed, there will be a variety of opinions. We will not discuss the future, but just talk about current issues. If we still regard the ideas and understandings that are different from ours as unorthodox opinions, and criticize them, it will only reflect our self-centered mental state which has been deeply influenced by traditional Chinese culture

and show that we, the Marxists, still have not adapted ourselves to an open society. This mental state becomes a protective screen for old concepts, changing Marxism into a closed ideological system. The so-called development will thus be only introvertive, supplementary, and annotative. This is a mortal wound to the further development of Marxism. Moreover, at present, the way of thinking which is characterized by drawing simple conclusions is still influential among the people. "Capitalism" and "bourgeoisie" are applied to all ugly things. However, people hardly realize that even the phenomenon of "liberalism" that they have often criticized includes various types: bourgeois individual liberalism, proletarian anarchist liberalism, and liberalism of the feudal literati and officialdom. The estrangement of some people and the germination of certain new things are other trends that we have not yet recognized. Decadence and decay are not peculiar to the bourgeoisie either. They appeared during the period of slaveowners and feudal lords, before the emergence of the bourgeoisie. The decadence of the lumpen proletariat was even more harmful to society.

In short, in today's situation when history has entered a new stage and the social structure has changed, when the door of our nation has opened and, in the economic field, more and more laboring people are having direct relations with the means of production, if we still use the method of class analysis to view changing and complex concepts, attempt to level out a three-dimensional structure, and regard the dynamic spiritual world as a static one, we will fall seriously behind changing developments.

Over the past few years, since we have implemented the principle of building socialism with distinctive Chinese characteristics and the policy of opening up to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy, and since the "double hundred" policy and "freedom of creation" have been reiterated, Marxism has been developed in China, the ideological and theoretical circles have become more animated, and a scene of prosperity has appeared in the field of literature and art. However, to speak frankly, there is still not ample space for mental activity in the ideological and theoretical circles and in literary and art circles. Although we have repeatedly emphasized not wielding big sticks and not attaching political labels to people, those sticks and labels have yet not been thrown onto the garbage heap of history. They are still playing an invisible and threatening role in desolate corners. Only when the "double hundred" policy is thoroughly implemented and is ensured by law, and all kinds of ideas (including bouregois ideas) can be discussed on an equal basis, can the so-called "forbidden zones" be eliminated. What is more important to the development of theory and the flourishing of literature is unlimited space for the mental activities of those who engage in these types of work. The last mental barrier among the people and among the Marxists can be thoroughly eliminated only when bourgeois ideas are no longer regarded as illegal.

We are in an era of rapid change. The reform of the political structure has now become an imperative task for us. In this reform, an important matter is to change the situation characterized by "making no distinction between party and government," so that our party can exercise its power

of leadership but is not involved in all concrete affairs of various social sectors. Thus, in the ideological field, we must also learn to make a distinction between the requirements for ordinary people and those for party members. It is always an arduous task for communists throughout the historical period of socialism to make their world outlook a ruling ideology of the society in a situation where ordinary people enjoy unlimited freedom in ideological belief. This task can be accomplished only in a society with sufficient freedom in the ideological realm. We need not worry about the spreading of "bourgeois ideas." The opposite of the "spreading of bourgeois ideas" will be unprecedented development of scientific Marxism and unprecedented flourishing of literature and art. The goals we long for will surely be achieved one after another.

I have received your invitation to the second forum on the "new technological resolution and structural reform," which will be held in Hangzhou, and the namelist of the participants. I believe this will be a very significant forum. Personally, I am very interested in this discussion, but, unfortunately, I will be busy in mid-August and cannot attend. However, please use this letter as the text of my speech at the forum, so as to express my support for the forum and to ask for advice from the participants.

31 July 1986

/12624
CSO: 4005/3

REFORM, DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA'S HIGHER EDUCATION

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 27 May 86 p 3

[Article by Lu Yongxiang [6424 3941 4382] of Zhejiang University: "On the Reform and Development of China's Higher Education"]

[Text] Since the PRC's founding 36 years ago, China's higher education undertaking has indeed made paramount achievements. However, it hasn't yet been able to meet the demands of the four modernizations for a variety of specialists, nor can it adapt to the current situation of rapidly developing science and technology in the world. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Education should be oriented towards modernization, the world, and the future." This is the guiding principle of the reform and development of China's higher education undertaking. Only through vigorous reform can China's higher education undertaking possibly achieve faster development and improvement.

1. Readjust Tier Structure and Train Specialists in Accordance with Proportion

China's higher education system has been unitary for many years and undergraduate students account for the overwhelming majority. In recent years, China has strengthened the training of graduate students and begun to pay attention to developing the vocational schools of higher learning. However, the number of graduates is so limited that it cannot meet the tier demand of industrial departments for high- and mid-level technical personnel. Almost over 20 percent of regular college graduates are placed every year in positions for which they are overqualified. The situation is worse especially in certain key enterprises. According to the average standard of current China, it takes 4 to 5 years and nearly 10,000 yuan of investment to train an undergraduate while it takes only 2 to 3 years and less than 2,000 yuan to train a vocational student. China's current financial and economic situations are not very good and there is an urgent demand for specialists. In spite of all this, China has tolerated the existence of this abnormal phenomenon for a long time. Moreover, in 1978 a large number of higher and secondary vocational schools were "put on a cap" and upgraded, worsening the imbalance of tier proportions. In this reform, efforts must be made to strengthen leadership, make overall planning, and through, readjustment and development, completely change the situation of disproportion of China's higher education.

At the same time, the disciplinary structure of universities should be readjusted too. At present, the most prominent contradiction is the shortage in the disciplines of politics, law, finance, trade, and management which are much too far from meeting the demands for strengthening the building of the legal system, opening up to the world, and invigorating the domestic economy. Some disciplines are outdated and need to be updated; some disciplines only cover a limited range of subjects; and a group of rising disciplines are yet to be developed. In sum, the disciplinary structure of schools should also meet the actual requirements of the national economy and adapt to the reality of scientific and technological development.

2. Reform Teaching Methods and Emphasize the Development of Aptitude

The word "exam" has effectively reversed the situation of confusion on the educational front caused by the 10-year turmoil and played a positive role in the process of "bringing order out of chaos." However, at present we cannot but notice that from elementary school to obtaining a doctorate Chinese youngsters have to pass five entrance exams and six graduation exams. It is like "passing five barriers and killing six generals." Teaching is controlled by exams and students are overloaded and suffocating from too much pressure, thus seriously affecting the all-around development of youngsters. Teaching methods are mainly classroom lectures which is hard for students to develop their initiative and the links of practical teaching and aptitude development are fairly weak. This phenomenon must be quickly changed. Along with the rapid development of science, technology, and the productive forces of society, the idea of modern education has changed from the traditional way of passing on knowledge to emphasizing students' aptitude development. Especially in higher education, students should not only have a good grip of basic theories of science and technology during their schooling but also foster their self-study ability, working ability and creativity so as to lay a solid foundation for their future development. We should, in view of this target, reduce students' burden, reform teaching and examination methods, strengthen the link of practice, and emphasize the development of students' aptitude while intensifying the teaching of basic theories.

3. Consolidate and Expand a Number of Small-scale Schools

Currently, China's institutions of higher education are mostly controlled by government departments or local governments. The scale of schools is restricted by such conditions as the demand of supervising departments for talented persons and the possible supply of funds. It is reported that according to the statistics compiled by 1983, the average number of students enrolled in the nation's over 600 institutions of higher learning is 1,200, amounting to only about a fifth of the average level of universities abroad. In many newly built schools, the number is less than 500. Due to the excessively small scale of schools, teachers, equipment, investment are scattered, the number of administrative and managerial personnel is increased in proportion and the investment returns of education are very poor. The small scale of the schools and the unitary type of disciplines are not in line with the characteristics of the inter-disciplinary, comprehensive development of modern science and technology and very unfavorable to the improvement of educational quality. In order to change this situation, we must resolutely

break through barriers between departments and establish trans-regional and inter-departmental cooperation in running schools. As the first step, all supervising departments should permit schools under their administration to vigorously accept the request of other departments and regions for training students and jointly managing a course of special discipline, a department, a graduate school or even a subdivision of a college on the condition that they first fulfill state-assigned plans and tasks. In cities or prefectures where conditions permit, we man use the method of cooperation and integration between different schools to expand the scale of school management, raise the standard of school management, and increase returns on the investment of education.

4. Reform the Leadership System That Separates Science and Technology From Education and Develop Educational, Scientific and Technological Centers

Institutions of higher education, especially key institutions, are places where a group of higher-level experts and professors are concentrated. They also have a wider variety of disciplines. In addition, they often have better information data, libraries, and laboratories. Moreover, college students, especially graduate students, are also a mobile echelon of most vigorous and innovative scientific and technological forces. Transforming institutions of higher education into educational, scientific, and technological centers not only can bring into full play the role of the precious intellectual ranks of college professors and students but also is required for improving the quality of teachers and teaching and fostering students' scientific research ability and creativity. Schools' scientific research achievements or modernized scientific and technological knowhow can be transferred to society through normal academic exchanges and transfers of achievements. What is more, they can be carried to industrial departments through a more important way--the uninterrupted flow of annual graduates. This kind of intellectual circulation is exactly the most important intellectual flow in modern society. However, in the past 36 years since the PRC's founding, the leadership system of science and technology and that of education are basically separated from each other. The State Educational Commission, the Chinese Academy of Science and Technology, various departments and committees, provinces, and municipalities each lead an independent scientific research rank. This has resulted in competition for investment, subjects of research, and equipment, the separation of education from scientific research, and the dispersion of human and material resources. It has caused institutions of higher education to suffer from a shortage of funds and faculties, poor equipment, and difficulties in competing for key subjects of research. It has also caused specialized research institutes to be overstaffed and have difficulties in personnel circulation. It is a shame that the scientific research rank has aged and not taken on any educational tasks (except for a few institutes which train some graduate students), thus confining precious scientific and technological information and intellectual resources to institutes. If in the course of this reform we can encourage institutions of higher education to cooperate or integrate with concerned scientific research institutes in accordance with disciplinary and regional divisions to form regional, specialized educational, scientific, and technological centers, not only can we coordinate scattered scientific research forces in a much more effective manner, avoid many low-level repetitions, save scientific research investment,

and increase scientific research results, we also can make sizable progress in the quality and quantity of our higher education. Some countries have long combined the management of education and scientific research and exercised the leadership of unified planning. We should be enlightened by it.

12302
CSO: 4005/863

SUCCESS REPORTED IN ACADEMIC DEGREE SYSTEM

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 31 May 86 p 1

[Article by Zhou Ling [0719 3781]: "China's Academic Degree System Scores Achievements"]

[Text] According to the Academic Degree Commission of the State Council, China has scored outstanding achievements in conferring academic degrees since the implementation of rules and regulations on academic degrees on 1 January 1981. During the "Sixth 5-year Plan" period, China's over 520 institutions of higher education conferred bachelor's degrees to 1.02 million graudates, master's degrees to 38,009 graduates, and doctor's degrees to 350 graduates. China now has domestic-trained doctors and masters in such fields as liberal arts, science, engineering, agriculture, and medicine.

Officials concerned of the Academic Degree Commission of the State Council said: The implementation of China's academic degree system has given a great impetus to the development of China's educational and scientific undertakings and the growth of high-level specialists. As a result of 5-year efforts, of the 638 disciplines and special studies of China's institutions of higher education and scientific research organs that offer doctor's and master's degrees, 618 have enrolled 105,800 master's candidates and 316 have enrolled 5,100 doctoral candidates. Enrolling and training on our own a large number of graduate students studying for master's and doctor's degrees indicates that China's academic degree work and graudate education has entered a new stage of independent and steady development.

After examination and verification conducted by scholars and experts in 1981 and 1983, a group of units, disciplines, and special studies offering doctor's and master's degrees and a group of faculty advisers for doctoral candidates have been approved. According to statistics, in China today, 525 institutions of higher education are authorized to give bachelor's degrees; 425 units are authorized to give master's degrees, of which, 320 are institutions of higher education and 105 are scientific research organs; 4,254 disciplines and special studies have master's degrees, of which, 3,587 are offered by institutions of higher education and 667 by scientific research organs; 196 units are authorized to give doctor's degrees, of which, 155 are institutions of higher education and 41 are scientific research organs; 1,151 disciplines and special studies have doctor's degrees, of which, 896 are offered by

institutions of higher education and 265 by scientific research organs; and there are a total of 1,788 faculty advisers for doctoral candidates. This indicates that China has formed an initial base for the development of graduate students that has a basically complete selection of disciplines and courses, a relatively strong advisory force, and a fairly solid scientific and technological foundation. It shows that we are capable of gradually achieving the objective of training high-level specialists mainly at home.

In the past few years in order to strengthen academic exchanges between China and other countries, China has, with the approval of the Academic Commission of the State Council, conferred 9 honorary doctor's degrees to outstanding foreign scholars, scientists, noted politicians, and social activists, causing very good reactions at home and abroad.

12302
CSO: 4005/861

LIAOWANG URGES CADRES TO WORK 'CREATIVELY'

HK030457 Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 33, 18 Aug 86 p 4

[Commentator's article: "Creatively Carry Out Central Policies and Directives"]

[Excerpts] Cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined. This is an important experience of our party over the past decades.

Building socialism with Chinese characteristics is an arduous but great task for which we have no ready experience to follow. To fulfill this task, the important topic confronting our cadres at all levels, in particular, leading cadres, is to learn to combine the central policies and directives with their specific localities or departments and to do their work creatively. In other words, leading bodies at various levels should master the skills needed for creatively implementing the central policies and directives.

Leading bodies at all levels are urged to do their work creatively because, first, China is a big country with a vast territory. Conditions vary from place to place. The central policies and directives are worked out in the light of the general situation of the country. It is impossible to make specific and detailed stipulations on all problems cropping up in various localities. Therefore, when comrades in various localities implement central policies and directives, they are encouraged to employ their initiative and enthusiasm and act in accordance with their own actual conditions.

Integrating theory with reality is one of our party's fine traditional work styles. The victory of China's revolution is the result of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete realities in China. Now we are building socialism with Chinese characteristics. In view of this new situation, we should apply the fundamental tenets of Marxism in studying new development and solving new problems. Society is developing and the times are advancing. New things are emerging one after another. Marxism should be developed with the development of practice. We must persist in solving the new problems arising in China's reform and construction using the fundamental tenets of Marxism as the guide and have the courage to cast away specific constructions that have been proved to be outdated or not completely correct by practice, and to replace them with new constructions commensurate with objective reality. All revolutionaries loyal to Marxism have the duty to enrich Marxism with fresh revolutionary experience so that it can preserve its vigorous vitality, and to advance

our cause and Marxist theory continuously. Therefore, our cadres, in particular leading cadres, should study Marxism and new knowledge in all fields diligently, and enhance their awareness on doing their work in a principled, farsighted, and creative way.

Some of our cadres are not good at conducting investigation and study and have a blurred picture of, or scanty knowledge of some important problems in their own localities and they fail to study them assiduously and thoroughly. This being so, they are also not good at effectively solving their problems in the light of their actual conditions by using the central policies and directives. Some cadres, no matter what they do, always sit back and wait for the "red-letterheaded documents" issued by the higher authorities. Without such documents they become powerless to do anything and with them, they copy them word by word and indiscriminately transmit them to the lower levels. This is the basic reason for their failure to carry out their work in a striking and vigorous way.

/12232
CSO: 4005/020

NEW IDEAS STRESSED IN STOPPING UNHEALTHY TRENDS

Guiyang GUIZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jun 86 p 1

[Commentary: "Correct Unhealthy Tendencies with New Ideas"]

[Text] Under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee, party rectification is making progress day by day. It is now increasingly clear that as long as we adhere to the correct decision of the central government and insist on using new ideas and the correct line, principles and policies to correct unhealthy tendencies, we certainly will fulfill the task of achieving a fundamental turn for the better in the party's workstyle and social practices.

The experience we gained in party rectification tells us that we must use new, not old, ideas to correct unhealthy tendencies, because unhealthy tendencies can be comprehended from two different points of views. For instance, some people think that cadres involved in business and enterprises is brought about by the influence of capitalist ideas whereas others think it is not so. Instead, they think it is a special phenomenon born under the condition of insufficient development of the commodity economy. Essentially, it is related to the influence of feudal ideas and the incomplete reform of the old economic system. Due to the influence of feudal ideas and the irrationality of the system, cadres can use special favorable conditions such as the confusion of administrative and economic responsibilities and power to do business. Because of this, the only conclusion is to further develop the commodity economy, promote economic reform, and create an environment for fair competition so cadres will be unable to use their privileges to make profits from business transactions. Therefore, we should say the second point of view is correct.

Also some people think the currently existing network of personal connections is caused by putting money before everything else and is capitalist stuff. Actually, in a developed commodity economy, capitalists refuse to have anything to do with any of their relatives and friends. They only hire those who are competent and capable of increasing profits for the enterprise. They would not even let their children take over the enterprise if they are good for nothing. We should realize that the network of personal connections is also a practice left over from feudal society. Under the circumstance in which everyone eats from the communal pot and relies on an iron rice bowl, leaders do not take responsibility for the success or failure of enterprises. This is where the network of personnel connections comes in. Because of this, the only conclusion for breaking the network of personal connections is to further carry out reform. Using new ideas to correct unhealthy tendencies is bound to

enhance the determination and confidence in reform. If we use old ideas to oppose unhealthy tendencies or even use the idea of "honorable and noble country" to deal with unhealthy tendencies, we can only get back to the old path of self-sufficiency and egalitarianism. Then, not only will it fail to overcome unhealthy tendencies but it will become a historical retrogression.

Unless we use new ideas, we will not reach a realistic conclusion in the observation and analysis of the current situation of the party's workstyle. Some people say the party's workstyle was the best in the 1950's. Here is my question: During the period of the "Great Leap Forward," iron pots were melted to make scrap iron and kitchen ranges were dug out to build canteens. You knew very well that it was not right but you dared not utter a word "no" because saying one word wrong or even making a suggestion to a secretary of a party branch might bring you a label of "rightist" or "counterrevolutionary." What is so good about this? Today, our party's line has already gone back to the correct track of Marxism and Leninism and fine traditions and workstyles such as seeking truth from facts, the mass line, and self-criticism have been restored and developed. The generalization that the party's workstyle was better in the past is obviously one-sided.

Carrying out reform in a country of 1 billion people and very uneven cultural and economic development like ours is an extremely large and arduous social engineering project. During the transition between old and new systems, it is impossible to avoid some "vacuum" areas and "loopholes" in regard to management which give the room for some people engaging in unhealthy tendencies to sneak in. "weakness lends wings to rumors" can be used as a link between reform and the open policy and unhealthy tendencies, but unhealthy tendencies are not an inevitable outcome of reform and the open policy. The reform and the open policy can broaden people's horizons, liberate their thinking and substantially accelerate the building of ideological civilization while accelerating the building of material civilization. Invigorating the domestic economy, opening up to the world, and developing the commodity economy has broken many "unbreakable walls in concepts" and liberated social productive forces to an unprecedented degree. In the mighty torrent of reform, it is unavoidable that feudal, semi-colonial, small-scale production, and other historical sediments will rise along with the tide and it is also possible that some capitalist stuff will sneak in. Under this contradictory situation, if we only observe from the viewpoint of traditional relations of morals and ethics, we will be easily trapped with or without our knowledge in the swamp of idealism. Only by striving to create conditions, replacing the old system with a new socialist economic system, and fully developing the commodity economy and social productive forces while strengthening law and discipline can we gradually clear up the climate and soil that produced unhealthy tendencies. Adhering to the basic principle of Marxism that social ideology is determined by social existence, we should coordinate the efforts to correct the party's workstyle and strengthen the building of ideological civilization with reform, the open-door policy, and the development of a socialist commodity economy so that they can develop simultaneously and promote each other.

12302
CSO: 4005/863

CADRE EDUCATION IN PROFESSIONAL ETHICS STRESSED

Harbin FENDOU [STRUGGLE] in Chinese No 6, 1 Jun 86 pp 24-25

[Article by Yan Zhenwu [7051 2182 2976]: "Attention Must Be Paid to Cadres' Professional Ethics Education"]

[Text] The establishment of the socialist system has created very favorable conditions for the development of professional ethics. However, for a very long period of time, the emphasis of our propaganda and education work has been placed more on social morality than on professional ethics. This may have contributed directly to the fact that there are now people in the party and society, particularly among leading cadres, who take advantage of their profession or power to pursue personal ends.

Professional ethics is permeated with, embodies and gives expression to communist moral values. There are generally three aspects to a person's life in society--his profession, family and social activities. Correspondingly, social morality is divided into professional ethics, marital and family ethics and public-spiritedness. Under the socialist system, professional ethics is permeated with communist moral values. Divorced from professional ethics, the "carrier," communist moral values become abstract "things in the air." The 12th CPC National Congress called for efforts "to do more to educate people of all trades and lines of work in professional responsibility, ethics and discipline," which clearly made professional ethics an important part of communist education.

The writer thinks that professional ethics education should be the main part of communist moral education because professional activities are the major activities of people in general. According to statistics, other than sleeping, a person spends one-half of his time at the work place. The contributions people make to society and the formation of their communist moral character are inseparable with their professions. Professional activities are even more important to society. The development of an advanced material and spiritual civilization depends on professional activities, which are the basic and universal form of development for people in all walks of life and the basic way to realize our social goals and ideals. Thus it is obvious that professional activities occupy a major place in the multi-faceted social life of people, and that they reflect the moral requirements and moral outlook of society more directly and sharply than do family and community activites.

Similarly, professional ethics, which guide and restrain people's professional activities, also occupies a major place in society's moral system. It has a greater impact on people's social life than marital, family and social ethics. To be sure, the social role of professional ethics also has its limitations. For example, it is limited by the people in professions and the time during which professional activities take place. Nonetheless, as a moral concept, it inevitably affects others and infiltrates the broad sphere of social life as a whole. Therefore, we must pay serious attention to professional ethics education. It is of great immediate as well as long-range significance for bringing about a fundamental turn for the better in party style and social conduct, achieving the great goals of socialist modernization and training generation after generation of new socialist workers.

In the past, in professional ethics education, we often fixed our attention on ordinary workers in the service trades and overlooked party and government cadres. Of course, it is necessary to pay attention to professional ethics education for the service trades because they directly serve people's needs in daily life, and it should be noted that what we are now doing is still not enough. However, there is no basis for the bias that party and government cadres and people in other trades do not seem to need education in professional ethics. Professions are the results of the division of labor in society, and appropriate professional ethics is bound to be formed to regulate the relations among people in the same profession and their relations with society at large. Therefore, every trade, whatever it may be, has its own specific professional ethics and educational tasks. Because the impact of professional ethics on people's relations is widespread, affecting every part of society, it is necessary to conduct professional ethics education for all trades and lines of work and strive for overall results. We should not limit education to some trades and workers and lose sight of the others. Of course, this does not rule out the possibility that it may be necessary sometimes to pay greater attention to some trades and workers than others.

At present, professional ethics education should focus on cadres, particularly leading cadres at all levels. Cadres' professional ethics has a twofold meaning. On the one hand, as leaders, managers and staff members of specific departments and trades, cadres should play an exemplary role. They make and implement policies, laws, decrees, rules and regulations, and they guide and organize the masses in various social activities. If they abide by professional ethics in an exemplary manner, they will be able to guide and restrain others. If they fail to set a good example, it is likely that they will lead their subordinates and the staff and workers in their departments astray ideologically and in action with bad consequences. On the other hand, cadres, especially leading cadres, are in a position of authority and as representatives, which is a distinction others do not have. If they lack a sense of professional ethics, they can easily misinterpret party and government policies, laws and decrees, infringe on the people's legitimate rights and interests and undermine the relationship between the party and government and the people. It is obvious that the education of cadres in professional ethics will have an even greater impact on the moral outlook of society. This is particularly true at the present, as corruption among cadres has

become all too common. As the 5-year time limit for bringing about a fundamental turn for the better in party style and social conduct is drawing near, whether cadres can use their own high moral standards to inspire the various trades and professions to raise the level of their professional ethics has become the decisive factor in the development of professional ethics in society as a whole.

Some comrades think that education of party members and cadres in party spirit, discipline and work style can substitute for education in professional ethics. Their understanding is incomplete. In our society, every party-member cadre has a multiple identity and multiple duties and responsibilities. He must perform his duties as a party member, meet his obligations as a citizen and fulfill his professional and ethical responsibilities as a cadre. Education in party spirit, discipline and work style alone is not enough to make people fulfill all of their duties and responsibilities. For example, to help party cadres understand, observe and act according to law, it is necessary to give them an education on the legal system. Of course, a person with a strong party spirit and consciousness will conscientiously abide by professional ethics, but a strong party spirit and consciousness can only be developed through moral education and training in professional activities. It is clear that education in party spirit, discipline and work style cannot substitute for education in professional ethics.

Other comrades think that since cadres are in leading positions in the division of labor in society, especially party-member cadres who belong to the ranks of advanced elements, the moral character expected of them should be no less than the willingness to serve the people wholeheartedly. If they are required to meet some professional ethical standards, they question, wouldn't that be a lowering of standards for party-member cadres? On this question, we must understand first of all that socialist professional ethics is guided by communist morality, and the essence of communist morality is to serve the people wholeheartedly. Thus, professional ethics is the concrete embodiment of the principle of serving the people wholeheartedly in the work place. Moreover, just take a look at the behavior of some cadres who neglect their duties in order to play it safe and use their positions to seek personal gain, and it becomes clear that it is not only absolutely necessary but very practical to have them meet certain professional ethical standards. And this is in keeping with the party's purpose.

Moral faith is the powerful driving force that makes a person perform moral deeds, and moral practice depends bascially on people's inner belief. Hence, to strengthen cadre education in professional ethics, efforts should be made to cultivate people's inner faith. And this requires proper handling of the following relationsnips.

The relationship between ideological and educational means and economic and administrative means. In professional ethics education, attention should be paid to correcting the tendency to punish and restrict rather than educate, and to cultivating people's sense of justice, honesty and responsibility and devotion to their work mainly by ideological and educational means, supplemented by necessary economic and administrative measures.

The relationship between the highest and the lowest requirements. The highest requirement is to serve the people wholeheartedly; the intermediate requirement is to protect and develop the people's interests; and the lowest requirement is not to infringe on the people's interests. In educating cadres in professional ethics, we should proceed from realities, aim at achieving the highest requirement, make sure that the lowest requirement is met by all, and continue to move forward toward achieving the highest level of professional ethics.

The relationship between teaching by positive examples and admonition by negative examples. The use of good examples personifying standards by professional ethics is an effective way to influence and educate people. At the same time, negative examples, analyzed and denounced, can help people see clearly the contemptibleness of those who violate professional ethics, arouse their hatred of immoral behavior and serve as a warning against committing the same mistakes.

The relationship between professional ethics education and knowledge and skills education. The process of achieving a high level of professional ethics is also one of applying and improving professional knowledge and skills, and professional knowledge and skills are the fundamental guarantee for the practice of professional ethics. Therefore, it is necessary to combine professional ethics education with knowledge and skills education. Otherwise, we are going to see honest but ignorant leaders causing great losses to the state, or judges who know the law by heart but play favoritism and violate the law.

12802/12947
CSO: 4005/910

WEN HUI BAO REASSESES ZHOU YANG'S WORKS

OW281301 Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 18 Aug 86 p 2

[Article by Gu Xiang: "Voice of the Contemporary Intellectuals--My Reading of Zhou Yang's Recent Works"]

[Excerpts] In rereading Comrade Zhou Yang's article and in reviewing the vicissitudes of the literature and art circles over the past decade, one cannot help but be filled with all sorts of feelings.

In reading Zhou Yang's recent works, we hear the roaring of the tumultous tide of the time and feel the pulse of the age. His recent works not only bare the historical portrait of Comrade Zhou Yang's person, but condense and radiate the wisdom of the age. Intellectuals, as the most educated part of the working class, have undergone untold sufferings in the national scourge. At the advent of the new historical period, they have been the first to perceive the demands and aspirations of the class, the state, the age, and the people. We can aptly say that the entire recent works of Zhou Yang's Recent Works," a collection of the thoughts of contemporary intellectuals, came off the press not long ago. As a precursor to the new awakening of the contemporary intellectuals, "Zhou Yang's Recent Works" testifies to the fact that Zhou Yang is standing at the forefront of the trend of the time in the new period.

An Important Historical Mission Is to Criticize Modern Feudalism at an Earlier Time

In his reflections on history, Zhou Yang, a man of the new period, is more aware of the truth of Marxism. He has as his foundation for reflections 10 years of bitter feelings from the national scourge, a restudy of Marxism (he reread "Das Kapital" and other writings while he was in prison), as well as nutrients absorbed from the masses. In the first several years of those night-marish times in the past, Comrade Zhou Yang was in contact with a large number of literature and art workers. Sharing their deprivations and hardships, Zhou Yang was drawn closer to them. He genuinely felt the pulsing of the souls of the writers and artists. He was melded together with the rank and file intellectuals. He was immersed in painful thoughts and in sincere contemplation of history. At the end, he was able to blaze a solid path from the sublation of history. [Li shi yang qi 2980 0670 2254 2757]. Indeed, not everyone can or is willing to make such self-conscious sublation. [Zi jue yang qi 5261 6030 2254 2757]. The worn-out notion of "treating class struggle as the key link"

has not completely disappeared since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee; it has become an irradicable sediment in the minds of some people.

It is laudable that Zhou Yang has steadfastly proceeded along his chosen path and upheld the truth with which he has identified over the past decade. Undeniably, the literature and art workers have enjoyed a comparatively freer environment and ease of mind in the past decade. It is also undeniable that there were discordances and disharmonies. In those less than cloudless days, Zhou Yang was subject to an unparalleled mental burden, perhaps greater than anyone in literature and art circles. Nevertheless, he has shown adamant tenacity in his pursuit of truth and has felt no remorse unto death. If you doubt this, you are advised to peruse his works written since 1983 which are contained in "Zhou Yang's Recent Works." It is perhaps for this reason that he is held in such high esteem. If Zhou Yang were one who often went back on his word and confused right and wrong, it would be very hard for him to win people's praise.

At present, a profound and extensive social change is occurring among the courageous Chinese people. Historically, every major social change is often preceded by a corresponding movement to emancipate the mind and to wipe out the murky situation.

The movement to emancipate the mind which arose in the late 1970s is precisely the one which prepared the necessary ideological conditions for the current major social change and for the new revolution. And Zhou Yang aptly acts as the dauntless theoretician and fighter in this great movement to emancipate the mind. His report "The Third Great Thought Emancipation Movement," which was published in the spring of 1979, was so timely and mentally stimulating that its value and significance should not be underestimated. Zhou Yang traced the origin of this thought emancipation movement to the mass movement in front of Tiananmen Square on Tomb Sweeping Day in 1976, which is completely correct. The world-shocking "Tiananmen Square Incident," without a doubt, stood equal to any revolutionary mass movement in modern history. Millions of people in Beijing and in the whole country took to the streets declaring war against the despotic rule of the "gang of four." People finally found an outlet through which to vent their pent-up anger. The death knell sounded. The collapse and bankruptcy of the "gang of four" and the "Great Cultural Revolution" was decidedly unavoidable. A new era dawned. The "Tiananmen Square Incident" sent a shock wave through people's minds. The dam that diked people's minds was broken. An unrestrainable stream of thought emancipation was formed in 1987. Zhou Yang conscientiously applied the Marxist method of historical analysis to compare this thought emancipation movement with the "May Fourth Movement" and the Yanan Rectification Movement. He embarked on a systematic and objective observation and proved convincingly that it was the third great thought emancipation movement in the modern history of Chinese revolution. He not only highly evaluated the significance and historical standing of this thought emancipation movement but also gave an illuminating glimpse into its contents and substance.

Now, we have a clearer view of the third thought emancipation movement which was actually the extension and development of the "May Fourth Movement." This

is because we are not only still struggling to achieve the tasks of scientific development and democracy as set forth in the "May Fourth Movement." It is also because we carry forward, deepen and expand the spirit of criticism on feudalism and traditional culture--the "May Fourth Movement" being the starting point of the spirit of criticism. We used to view the third mind emancipation movement as a movement which delivered us from the shackles of personality cult and dogmatism. Now we know that we did not delve into the heart of the matter then. As for the "Great Cultural Revolution," we once viewed it as merely the destruction of traditional culture, a revolution that "overkilled the life of culture." Now we know that then we only saw one side of the affair. As a matter of fact, there was another side of it which had a far-reaching influence. With the deepening of the campaign to totally negate the "Cultural Revolution" and the thought emancipation movement, the whole ideology of fuedalism, namely, feudalistic paternalism, authoritarianism, bigoted isolationism, obscurantism in destroying culture and education, personality cult, patriarchal thought, hierarchical ideas, human rights violations, and antihumanitarianism, were all glaringly and startlingly to be found in that "Great Cultural Revolution." People can easily detect the destruction that the Lin Liao-Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary group did to the cream of traditional culture. Harder to detect was the restorationist, feudalist ideology comouflaged by Marxism and communism under the cover of class struggle and revolution. People came to realize that the traditional idea of feudalism not only appeared in the things that the "gang of four" and company tried to promote, but its strong implantment can be found in the deep recesses of ordinary men's minds. Only through this can we explain why the "Great Cultural Revolution" farce played in China for 10 years. The third thought emancipation movement was, as a matter of fact, a new Marxist enlightenment movement opposing modern fuedalism. It aimed to deliver us from the cultural pattern of modern feudalism bondage as well as from the ideology of extreme capitalistic individualism which appears under the present situation of opening to the outside world. In his report, "The Third Great Thought Emancipation Movement," Zhou Yang refuted, item by item, the feudalistic ideas that the "gang of four" promoted. He pointed out: We should make a complete sweep of the pernicious influence of modern superstitions spread by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." It is noteworthy that a year before the publication of his report, Zhou Yang delivered an official speech at a meeting in which he clearly pointed out that "the criticism of feudalist ideology and its manifestations, as represented by Confucious, is one of the important tasks on the current ideological front." We must admit that, after entering the new period, Zhou Yang was one of the earlier thinkers to acquire that kind of consciousness.

Provide Clear-cut Support for "Scar Literature," Reject the Unscientific Concept that "Literature and Art Should Be Subordinate to Politics"

The period after October 1976 was a period of self-examination--a period of "introspection" [fansi 0646 1835] among literary circles--during which the whole party and the whole nation recalled and examined what had happened in the country. The Fourth Congress of Chinese Literary and Art Workers in November 1979 was a major meeting to examine developments within literary and art circles. Zhou Yang's report "Carry Forward the Cause Pioneered by Our Predecessors, and Bring About More Thriving Literary and Art Creation During the New Socialist Period" provided a comprehensive review of experiences and set forth

what had to be done. He said: "Literature and art constitute a very important and complex ideological sphere; it is not easy to sum up the experiences gained in that sphere over the past 30 years." He tried to do that, however. The report he made was an enlightened, unequivocal, and impassioned one which distinguished right from wrong. When we read that report today, it seems that it was not thorough enough in denouncing the negative side of some political movements launched among literary and art circles after the founding of the republic. That is because truth takes time to emerge; and as problems become more pronounced, people also become more aware of their true nature. Furthermore, Zhou Yang could have found it difficult to present a more clear-cut conclusion in his report before the party Central Committee determined the nature of those problems.

In my opinion, the report Zhou Yang made at the congress was based totally on the discussion of the relationship between literature and art on one hand and the people on the other, and proceeding from this Marxist viewpoint he tried to evaluate historical development, provide answers to actual issues, and look forward to the future. His clear-cut endorsement of "scar literature" was an example. What was known as "scar literature" was the first wave of literary works that appeared in the new period. As a whole, it was a type of literature describing the awakening of the people after they discovered they had been hoodwinked. Those literary works reflected the masses' love, hatred, anger, anguish, outcry, and protest. Those were literary works of literary workers who took the lead in discrediting the literature of the "Great Cultural Revolution," and in righting the wrongs among literary circles. It was an inevitable historical development. How could the people not warmly embrace and fully endorse such literary works which were of enormous social and historical value? Zhou Yang said: "These works emerging from the mass of people vividly reflect their actual life; they are imbued with the spirit of the time." Of course, there were various types of works that could be generally called "scar literature." There were indeed certain naturalist descriptions of scars, and works that spread pessimism, dejection, and nihilistic thoughts and feelings. Zhou Yang unequivocally expressed his "disfavor" with those works, which constituted only a small part and were therefore not the mainstay of "scar literature." Some of our comrades have made it a practice to cite the most poorly written works in an effort to disparage and find fault with "scar literature" as a whole. The way these people's deal with literary problems is extremely erroneous.

In his report, Comrade Zhou Yang interpreted the realtionship between literature and art on one hand and politics on the other as "basically a relationship between literature and art and the people." That was a big step forward in the theoretical discussion of the relationship between literature and art and politics. This interpretation broke with the narrowminded concept that politics means "class struggle," thus also breaking away from the Philistine sociological trend of regarding literature and art as "tools of class struggle." A major readjustment of the party's literary and art policy after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was the rejection of the unscientific concept that "literature and art should be subordinate to politics" and the replacement of the slogan "literature and art should serve politics" with

that of "literature and art should serve the people and socialism." It was an inevitable development in the field of literature and art after the party shifted the focus of its work. Accompanying the change in the party's general slogan was a big debate carried out amont theoretical circles on the relationship between literature and art and politics. The change in the general slogan was a theoretical breakthrough. Although Comrade Zhou Yang did not clearly declare in his report that the slogans "literature and art are subordinate to politics" and "literature and art should serve politics" should no longer be used in the future, the guiding thought and spirit were already very clear. (After the mass gathering, an announcement to this effect was later made in the report "The Current Situation and Tasks" Comrade Deng Xioping made on behalf of the party Central Committee; the announcement was therefore more solemn and more appropriate than it would have been if made by a leader of a mass movement,) In reality Zhou Yang had already corrected the idea that literature and art should "be subordinate to" or "serve" politics, and he clearly denounced the idea that literature and art were "tools of class struggle." His report is still available for verification.

Sum Up Experience in Following the "Leftist" Ideological and Political Line from a Philosophical Point of View by Tracing the Source of the Theory of Knowledge

Delivering his special report "The Study of Several Theoretical Issues of Marxism" at a 1983 academic symposium to mark the centennial of the death of Marx, Zhou Yang, from an ideological point of view, comprehensively and systematically exposed and criticized the "leftist" ideological and political line that we had adhered to for more than 3 decades. The report, made public after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, was also a piece of creative Marxist work providing a theoretical basis for reforming the various undertakings that had mushroomed in urban and rural areas. Representing the peak of Zhou Yang's theoretical contributions during the new decade, it probably was also one of the most important theoretical and academic articles in the ideological and theoretical debate of that period. The "alienation" issue discussed in that article was a global academic issue, and it was the author's hope that his viewpoints would be criticized fairly in a spirit of good will; and even if the author's opinions in that article might not have sufficiently matured, this should not affect its value as a whole.

As I see it, the article's significance lies primarily in the fact that it demonstrated the precious features of a Marxist theoretician, which are: instead of adhering to rigid dogma, he proceeds from reality, pays attention to the general trend of socialist modernization, and listens to the voice of reform; he also ponders these problems deeply, confronts them boldly and earnestly, and researches them with a creative approach. The article was written in early 1983 when major successes had been achieved in rural economic reform and urban economic reform had just begun. Comrade Zhou Yang warmly embraced the gratifying situation brought about by socialist reform. His discussion of "alienation" in that article was not prompted by some sudden impulse; the discussion stemmed from Comrade Zhou Yang's long and hard thinking on issues. In fact, he had studied this issue in the 1960's and discussed it with friends for nearly 8 years after the downfall of the "gang of four." His approach to the issue was therefore both daring and serious. It was normal to have different opinions on this

issue, which is an academic one that should be discussed freely in a democratic, harmonious, and friendly atmosphere marked by unity, in which criticism and countercriticism can be carried out with reason.

First, Comrade Zhou Yang stated in his article that "Marxism is a developing theory." This of course is not Comrade Zhou Yang's original idea. Marxism has never posed as an all-embracing and ultimate intellectual institution; it considers itself a branch of creative science. By clarifying the relationship between relative truth and absolute truth, this principle had time and again been elucidated by Engels himself in his works, such as "Dialectics of Nature," "Anti-Duhring," and "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy." According to Engels, it was absurd and sheer nonsense to say that an all-embracing institution had come into being at a certain stage of human development, thus precluding any further growth of human intellect. Nevertheless, Marxism has long been regarded by some people as a complete and closed institution and a rigid and ossified dogma. It seems to these people that Marxism represents the "Apex" of human knowledge, allowing no further progress or breakthrough of outmoded theories; and that, besides safeguarding its "purity," there is no need for Marxism to constantly demand man's progressive thinking. Under the new situation of social reform, this issue has been vividly presented: while reform requires Marxist guidance, Marxism itself must also develop; and if we are only allowed to look for readily available answers in Marxist works and cannot go beyond their conclusions and principles, our reforms can hardly proceed. The reintroduction of Comrade Zhou Yang's theory that Marxism is a developing theory is therefore extremely realistic and relevant. Since China's socialist eocnomic system has long been bound by foreign modes, we now have a theoretical basis for breaking through the established modes by reiterating that Marxism is a developing theory. Comrade Zhou Yang said in his article: "Since Marxism is developing, there can be no established modes for socialist revolution and construction." This is a revolutionary conclusion.

The "Great Cultural Revolution" was the inevitable result of expanding the class struggle, making it an absolute necessity from theory to practice during the previous decade. This had to do with the philosophical negation of the unity of contradictions, and the failure to completely master the law of the unity of opposites in the theory of knowledge. In his article, Comrade Zhou Yang analyzed the mistake of stressing the struggle of opposites and failing to stress the unity of opposites. This was the philosophical expression of the political viewpoint that class struggle was growing more acute. Comrade Mao Zedong once adhered to the viewpoint of the unity of contradictions. However, in his old age, he went against his own correct viewpoint and considered the struggle of opposites an absolute necessity by using the concepts of "one dividing into two" and opposing "two combining into one." This resulted in the expansion of the political class struggle, which eventually led to ruthless internal disorder.

In his article, Comrade Zhou Yang attracted the people's attention by raising the question of Marxist humanism. This was not a random notion, but an important theoretical topic presented by history and by our times. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," "human nature" and "humanism" were committed to oblivion, while "brutish nature" and "the divine way" gained popularity. In

order to achieve socialist modernization in the new period, it is necessary to fully arouse the people's socialist enthusiasm. Therefore, it has become an irresistible trend to respect man's dignity and values, respect the people's democratic rights in a socialist society, fully develop man's talents, correctly handle the relationship between man's freedom and responsibility, and smash the feudal traditions that hamper historical progress. In Marxism, man regains the position he deserves. Indeed, humanism has a long history. It is a complex issue which has been blurred by the bourgeoisie.

Here Comrade Zhou Yang talks about Marxist humanism, which differs from bourgeois humanism and has its specific historical characteristics. Comrade Mao Zedong called it revolutionary humanism. Some comrades call it socialist humanism. This is all right. These comrades should not be criticized simply because their concept differs from that of Comrade Mao Zedong. Of course, it is not justified to criticize those people who refer to Marxist humanism or proletarian humanism as "heresy." There is no reason to have only one authoritative version. Comrade Zhou Yang first analyzed the fundamental difference between the ideological structures of bourgeois and Marxist humanism, and opposed incorporating Marxist humanism within the structure of humanism. However, he recognized that Marxism encompasses humanism. He explicitly said: "In Marxism, man has an important position." Marxims is concerned about and pays attention to man in society, in reality and in practice. It stands for liberating the whole of mankind through the liberation of the proletariat. In his article, Comrade Zhou Yang expounded the Marxist idea of all-round development of mankind. Achieving all-round development of mankind is communism's particular "objective." Communism is "A social form which upholds the basic principle of ensuring the all-round and free development of every person." Comrade Zhou Yang's expositions on Marxist humanism demonstrate his enthusiasm for Marxism and his complete affirmation of and confidence in socialism and communism. They have tremendous theoretical and practical significance. From "Recent Works of Zhou Yang," we can somehow learn about the trend of thought among intellectuals in a decade as well as trace the ideological trend of the times.

Before writing this article, I again visited Comrade Zhou Yang at the hospital. He looked emaciated and expressionless. We remained speechless at the sickbed. Seeing Comrade Zhou Yang being tortured by illness, I could hardly suppress my grief and indignation. It naturally reminded me of what Marx said in his work "Preface to a Critique of Political Economy": "The entry into science is like the entry into hell." Comrade Zhou Yang again suffers spiritual and physical pain for the sake of pursuing truth.

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CSO: 4005/020

BAINQEN ERDINI INSPECTS QAMDO PREFECTURE IN XIZANG

HK120123 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 10 Sep 86

[Excerpts] After successfully concluding his inspection visit to Jomda County, NPC Standing Committee Vice Chairman Bainqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyaincain arrived in Qamdo, a place of strategic importance in central Xizang, on 8 September. He was warmly welcomed by people from all circles.

When the vice chairman arrived at the gate of the building of the Qamdo military subdistrict, the long-awaiting regional party committee Secretary Gyanincain Norbu, and Qamdo prefectural party, government, and Army leaders presented Hada to Bainqen, the living Budda (Jia Ya), and (Zuo Jia), vice minister of the State Naitonalities Affairs Commission, and extended kind regards and a warm welcome to them.

On the afternoon of 8 September, responsible comrades of the Qamdo prefectural party, government, Army and CPPCC Committee went to the Qamda Hotel to call on Vice Chairman Bainqen.

During the meeting the NPC vice chairman said: in accordance with instructions of central leading comrades and entrusted by the NPC Standing Committee, I have inspected Sichuan's Garze, am now inspecting Xizang's Qamdo, and shall inspect Yunnan's Deqen. He said: in the past there were many leftist things in Xizang, especially in Qamdo. The regional party committee called for going further in three respects [in negating the Cultural Revolution, in eliminating leftist ideological influence, and in straightening out the ideological line], which was absolutely correct. I hope that my current inspection visit will promote future work in Qamdo Prefecture. Bainqen also expressed the hope that our cadres will broaden their outlook, have the overall situation on mind, attain a lofty realm of thought, and do more good things for the people.

/12624
CSO: 4005/3

CHENG MING REPORTS BEIDAIHE CONFERENCE HAPPENINGS

HK051311 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 107, 1 Sep 86 pp 6-;0

["Notes on a Northern Journey" by Luo Ping [5012 0393]: "The Inside Story of the Beidaihe Conference"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Excerpts] A Lot of Topics But Two Central Topics for Discussion

During the hot summer season, Zhongnanhai activities move to Beidaihe, as usual. Special carriages and special trains on the Beijing-Shenyang railroad carry members of the Standing Committee of the Politburo, members of the Politburo, members of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, and high officials of the State Council to the summer resort which is 400 kilometers away from Beijing.

According to reliable resources, this time the Beidaihe conference discussed a wide range of questions including the question of contracting, renting, and selling small and medium-sized enterprises under state ownership to collectives or individuals; the question regarding the reform of the financial structure; the question of readjusting and relaxing the controls on the prices of steel products; the question of ownership; and so on. However, the central topic for discussion at the conference was two questions concerning the Sixth Plenary Session which will be held in the last 10 days of September: One was the question of spiritual civilization and the reform of the political structure; the other was the question concerning the personnel arrangements for the 13th Party Congress to be held next year. The conference spent more time discussing the first question.

Two Difficult Questions and Who Is To Succeed Deng

The above two questions will be the main topics for discussion at the Sixth Plenary Session. It is proper to say that this Beidaihe conference was aimed at making preparations for the Sixth Plenary Session.

A well-informed person told me that at present the CPC is confronted with two difficult questions.

One is who is to succeed Deng Xiaoping as chairman of the Military Commission of CPC Central Committee. Deng had long been ready to let Hu Yaobang take over

the post at the 13th Party Congress to be held next year. Over the past year, Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, has been unusually active in the army. This fact obviously shows that Hu will succeed Deng as chairman of the Military Commission of CPC Central Committee. However, when Deng Xiaoping recently brought up his retirement again, a lot of veteran cadres did not agree. Deng's retirement will mean that Deng Xiaoping is to resign as chairman of the CPC Central Advisory Commission, chairman of the CPC Central Military Commission, and chairman of the Central Military Commission of the PRC. Does this mean that those veteran cadres will prevent Hu Yaobang from succeeding Deng Xiaoping as chairman of the CPC Central Military Commission?

Veteran High-Ranking Officers Comment on Hu Yaobang

On situation unfavorable to Hu Yaobang is that the general mood of the troops is not good. As a result, the high-ranking officers blame the general secretary and the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee for not having done sufficient ideolgoical work and demonstrating a trend of rightist deviation. At the end of last year, at the fourth meeting of Chinese Writers' Association, Hu Qili talked about "freedom of creation." Immediately after that Hu Yaobang made a famous speech on writing news reports according to an 80-20 ratio. Why did such a change take place? It has been learned that Hu Yaobang received pressure from the military before making his speech. At a meeting, Yang Shangkun and Yu Qiuli criticized the trend of "opposing only rightist deviation and not opposing leftist deviation" in the ideology and politics. Their criticisms were actually aimed at Hu Yaobang. Under such circumstances, no matter what Hu Yaobang. Under such circumstances, no matter what Hu might believe in his heart, he had to politically show that he "opposes both rightist deviation and leftist deviation." This is the real background to Hu Yaobang's speech on the 80-20 ratio.

From this we can see that it will not be so easy for Hu Yaobang to succeed Deng Xiaoping as chairman of the CPC Central Military Commission.

Two months ago, Hu Yaobang made a speech at a science conference, stating that "science is not aimed at criticizing liberalization but at fighting ignorance and enabling mankind to boldly pursue truth." Hu's remarks were perfectly correct. However, when his speech was relayed to the lower levels, the above statement was omitted. People began to wonder whether Hu Yaobang himself withdrew his remarks or if the statement was omitted because of strong opposition.

Tian and Li Lack Qualifications To Become Premier

The second difficult question concerns candidates for the premiership, that is, who will succeed Zhao Ziyang as China's premier. The CPC originally planned to choose either Li Peng or Tian Jiyun, but after a period of observation and collection of opinions from inside and outside the State Council, the CPC has come to believe that neither is an ideal candidate. Li Peng's past work has nothing to do with reform, so he lacks reform experience. China's present premier is actually a premier engaged in carrying out reforms. Without reform experience, how can he succeed the present premier? What is more, Li Peng is

a returned student from the Soviet Union, so veteran cadres of the CPC do not compeltely trust him. Although Tian Jiyun's past work dealt with the reform and he has experience in carrying out economic reforms, last year's financial turmoil and this year's price reform have made people believe that he lacks the qualifications to be premier.

Zhao Ziyang Will Probably be Reelected Premier

Several months ago, the CPC policy makers discovered this problem and promoted Qiao Shi to vice premier, adding one more name to the premier candidate namelist. Qiao Shi is comparatively sedate and subtle. He has organizational ability and is familiar with the people working in all fields, so he is liked by the CPC cadres. Because he used to work for the Communist Youth League, he has a close relationship with Hu Yaobang. However, because his past work has nothing to do with the economic reform, Qiao Shi is also not considered an ideal successor to the premier. Another vice premier is Wan Li. Wan Li is open-minded and could be a capable premier, but he is a bit too old. According to the rules, he cannot become premier. Therefore, finding a successor for the premier has become a difficult problem. The CPC upper circles were of the opinion that under present circumstances, it would be better to let Zhao Ziyang be reelected premier. According to the Constitution, the premier cannot be reelected. However, this rule was enacted in the middle of Zhao Ziyang's term of office, so it is not considered a complete term. Therefore, it is still possible for him to be reelected. Of course, this is only a tentative opinion. No decision was made during the Beidaihe conference. Well-informed people said that there still remains a great possibility that Zhao Ziyang will be reelected.

The Original Version of the Resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session

Other questions concerning personnel matters can easily be answered. For instance, it is almost certain that Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, will leave his post at the 13th Party Congress and be succeeded by Hu Qili. Some people believe that when Hu Qili becomes general secretary, he will probably cooperate better with Zhao Ziyang.

The Beidaihe conference mainly discussed the issues of spiritual civilization and reform of the political structure.

This is because the Sixth Plenary Session will pass a resolution concerning spiritual civilization. The Beidaihe conference discussed the relevant questions. The results of the discussion will be the original version of the relevant resolution to be passed at the Sixth Plenary Session.

That the Beidaihe conference stressed the building of spiritual civilization and the reform of the political structure is because of three needs:

The need for economic reform, the need for coping with public opinion and the party's desire to surpass other "communist countries" in carrying out economic reform. The first two needs are more important.

Difficulties in Reforming the Economic Structure and the Necessity To Reform the Political Structure

The economic reform is now confronted with enormous difficulties and problems which are concerned with the question of centralization and delegation of power and the autocracy and democracy in political life. On 28 June this year, Deng Xiaoping made a speech at a meeting held by the Standing Committee of the Politburo, pointing out:

/The reform of the political structure and the reform of the economic structure should rely on each other and cooperate with each other. If we only carry out economic reform and not political reform we will not be able to carry the reform of economic structure through to its end. This is because we will first meet with artificially imposed obstacles./

Deng Xiaoping explained the meaning of artificially imposed obstacles, saying:

/Many units have withdrawn the powers delegated to the lower levels through the form of a company. We advocate that powers should be delegated to the lower levels, but they have withdrawn the powers from the lower levels./

The above remarks of Deng Xiaoping were disclosed by "ZUZHIRENSHI XINXI BAO" [ORGANIZATION AND PERSONNEL INFORMATION PAPER] The paper neither mentioned when nor where Deng Xiaoping made the speech. Does this mean it is a secret? I have learned from well-informed sources that Deng Xiaoping made the above speech at a Politburo Standing Committee meeting on 28 June this year.

Deng Only Stressed Administrative Reform

In his speech at the Politburo Standing Committee meeting, Deng Xiaoping also mentioned:

"The last time I talked about the economic work with Comrade Ziyang and some other comrades, I gave some opinions and asked them to pay attention to reforming the political structure." The timing and contents of Deng Xiaoping's talk with Zhao Ziyang and others have not been made public. A well-informed person told me that a document says that on 10 June this year, Deng Xiaoping listened to a report on the economic situation. The report meeting was attended by Zhao Ziyang, Wan Li, Hu Qili, Yao Yilin, Tian Jiyun, and Zhang Jinfu. After listening to the report (made by Yao and supplemented by Zhao), Deng Xiaoping said:

/Last year our foreign exchange reserves decreased more than $6 billion and our foreign trade deficit was more than $10 billion. We must study the question of increasing the coal export volume. It seems that we will not be able to cope with the situation unless we carry out reform of the political structure. The number of our ortanizations has not yet been reduced, but instead has increased. When you delegate (powers) here, he will withdraw powers there. Many companies have emerged, which are actually government organizations. Price subsidies are actually a big burden because we have to spend billions of U.S. dollars. Recently, Hungary's Janos Kadar said that reform is concerned with the question of price reform and the question of delegation of powers./

Deng Xiaoping spoke so much (because he "exposed" the "dark aspect," it is believed that Deng's remarks will not be make public), but his remarks can be boiled down to one sentence: in order to solve the problems of the economic reform, it is necessary to carry out the reform of the political structure. However, Deng only stressed one aspect of the reform of the political structure --administrative reform.

The Academic Circles Strongly Demand Democracy

On the other hand, the CPC, which has always stressed uniformity in public opinion and maintaining an autocratic structure, has felt great pressure from public opinion and maintaining an autocratic structure, has felt great pressure from public opinion in China over the past few months. Theoretical, literary, and art circles have seized upon Deng's advocating "political reform" to publicize their views. Some have given annotations to "political reform" and some have deduced "political reform," while others have broken through the limits of administrative reform to loudly demand democracy and appeal to the authorities to cast away feudalism (and autocracy). Some demand rule by law and appeal to the authorities to end the practice of rule by man. Some people have even advanced the slogan of political pluralism. The intellectuals' struggle against cultural autocracy and academic autocracy has achieved marked successes, such as the Ma Ding incident and the Liu Zaifu incident. Some incidents have not yet been made public but the struggle is still going on.

Since the remarks of Yu Haocheng, whose name is familiar to people abroad, were considered to rebellious, he has been under investigation. In March of this year, Yu was quietly removed from office on the pretext that he is already 60 years old. He has been removed from his posts as director and editor-in-chief at Qunzhong Publishing House. Like Wang Ruoshui, he now stays at home and writes. Besides writing "Liu Shaoqi's Biography," he has also written articles advocating democracy and a legal system. The editors of some newspapers and magazines have been bold enough to publish his articles.

Support for Yu Haocheng and Fang Lizhi

Some people in the theoretical and juristic circles have been indignant about the CPC's suppression of Yu Haocheng and Wang Ruoshui and others. Once they have a chance, these people will fearlessly speak up for them. This is indeed great pressure on the CPC.

What is unknown to the outside world is the Fang Lizhi incident.

Fang Lizhi is the vice president of the China Science and Technology University and a well-known astrophysicist. He has criticized the works of Marx and Engles, especially Engels' "dialectics of Nature" from the view of natural sciences, pointing out that some of Engels arguments are untenable. Although this was purely an academic exploration, those in power ordered Fang Lizhi to make self-criticism and some people even advised him to withdraw from the party. Early this May, a newspaper in Beijing began to launch criticisms of him. This situation has greatly offended Beijing's intellectual circles. At a symposium

on the "double hundred" policy, Xu Liangying, director of the Institute of History under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, said vehemently: "If some people continue to persecute Fang Lizhi, I will organize scholars to jointly sign a petition and submit it to the central authorities." His remarks received thunderous applause, which showed the intellectuals' resentment and discontent with autocratic politics.

CHENG MING readers must have heard the name of Xiong Yingwu, a professor at Heilongjiang University. Because he once wrote articles criticizing "Das Kapital," he has received great pressure. What happened later? The academic and theoretical circles spoke up for him. Although some people organized criticism of Xiong Yingwu's articles, they were finally criticized by others. Xiong Yingwu's name has beocme well-known and his prestige has greatly increased. Some newspapers and magazines have recently published Xiong Yingwu's articles on prominent pages. This is a silent protest against those academic killers.

Continuing To Appeal for Redress of the Injustice Done to Guo Luoji

The theoretical and academic circles have been continuously appealing for redress of the injustice done to Guo Luoji, who is the vanguard in publicizing democratic theories.

Do you still remember Guo Luoji? Seven years ago he published his article "Political Questions Can Be Discussed." Later he was severely criticized. A newspaper in Shanghai recently reported Guo Luoji's situation. His experience over the past few years have incontrovertibly proved that China desperately needs democracy!

After the downfall of the gang of four, Guo Luoji, a scholar who had been teaching in universities for many years, received continuous pressure from all sides. In the first year after the downfall of the gang of four, he was elected a deputy of the Beijing Municipal People's Congress at Beijing University. At a meeting to decide whether to elect Cao Yoiu (Kang Sheng's wife) a deputy to the National People's Congress, Guo Luoji voted against her. That was the first negative note at the provincial and municipal people's congresses. At the meeting, Guo Luoji also made a speech and accused Wu De, then mayor of Beijing, of obstructing the struggle to expose and criticize the gang of four and practicing the "two whatevers" at Beijing University. His speech was stopped by the applause of the deputies over 10 times. Guo Luoji was later persecuted by those in power. Wu De asked Hua Guofeng for instructions. Hua Guofeng said: "We must suppress it." As a result, the people's congress was held for 5 more days purposely to criticize Guo Luoji. At the meeting, Guo Luoji's remarks were denounced as "rights remarks" and any articles and speeches supporting Guo Luoji's view were banned from being published in the meeting's bulletin. In January 1978, Guo Luoji published an article entitled "To Bring About Ideological Emancipation" in RENMIN RIBAO, evoking nationwide repercussions. When the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was held, Guo Luoji did "spend some happy days." During that time, he attended a theoretical meeting to discuss principles and ideological guidelines and was also invited to give speeches in Sichuan, Wuhan and Beijing.

Three Indictments and Private Criticisms

However, Guo Luoji's remarks often evoke much controversy. Once, when Guo gave a report on the criterion of and the question of seeking truth from facts at Sichuan University in Chengdu to a full assembly hall, someone said that he was making a counterrevolutionary speech. In 1979 he wrote an article entitled "Whose Crime?" commenting on the Zhang Zhixin incident. His article was published in QUANGMING RIBAO and evoked strong presponses. GUANGMING RIBAO received over 2,000 letters from people. Some readers said: "If such an article is investigated, I would like to be investigated too." However, at that time some people privately prepared three indictments against Guo Luoji: The first was that he was negating the Cultural Revolution; the second was that he was opposing Chairman Mao; the thrid was that his prupsoe in advocating transformation of the social environment was to negate the socialist system. In the same year, Guo Luoji published his article in JIAOYU YANJIU [EDUCATION RESEARCH] which was entitled "To Make Up the Lesson of Discussing the Criterion of Truth, a Major Discussion on the Question of Education Should Be Held." This article covered the criterion of truth to reform and was aimed at exploring a new way foreducational reform. After the article was published, the Ministry of Education privately organized criticism of the article. Although Guo Luoji repeatedly demanded to attend the criticism meeting, his request was refused. Immediately after that, he published an article entitled "A comment on the So-Called Confidence Crisis" in WEN HUI BAO, but some people said that he was producing a confidence crisis, so he received great pressure.

No Argument at the Criticism Meeting

Later, Guo Luoji published an article entitled "Political Issues Can Be Discussed," arguing that if political issues cannot be discussed, there would be "no talk on state affairs" (a political characteristic during the rule of the nationalists) and politics would become autocratic politics and oligarchy. Some people were angry about this article. Since the second half of 1979, the department concerned has held several meetings to criticize Guo Luoji, but Guo was not allowed to attend these meetings or to argue his case. Someone even wrote an order and asked some newspapers to criticize Guo Luoji and to publish only articles criticizing him. In 1982, someone even unreasonably transferred Guo Luoji from Beiming University to Nanjing University. The transfer order was issued by the Ministry of Education. Wasn't it a joke? At Nanjing University, the Ministry of Education stipulated that Guo Luoji could only be a teacher and could not be a cadre, thus depriving him of the right to be elected. Furthermore, his articles were banned from publication. Some newspapers and editors were criticized for publishing his articles. People no longer dared invite him to attend academic meetings. Sometimes he wrote articles, but he could not use his own name, and even the signature at the end of his draft article was "borrowed" from his friends! For many years, Guo Luoji has been teaching postgraduates and giving lectures on special topics. He has also compiled many educational materials. Some of his students have already become associate professors, but he is still a lecturer. At the age of 16, when he was a middle school student in Wuxi, he joined the underground party. Now 38 years have passed, and ironically, he is still an unregistered party member. The party rectification campaign demanded that all party members be

reregistered, but when Guo Luoji asked to be registered, he was told that he "would not be discussed for the time being." Whenever the theoretical circles think about Guo Luoji, they express reservations on Zhongnanhai's call for political reform. This is of course something the CPC would not like to see.

Outlines for Building Spiritual Civilization

It has been learned that after some discussions, the Beidaihe conference drafted some outlines for building spiritual civilization (main points):

1. The reform is a profound social transformation and must be thoroughly affirmed.

2. The building of spiritual civilization must beat gongs to clear the way for the reform and new productive forces.

3. To build a high degree of socialist democracy and socialism, we should also stress human rights and freedom.

4. Social science research must be geared to the reform and the four modernizations and should not be confined to Marxist books.

5. To foster socialist literature and art, it is first essential to provide a harmonious environment.

6. It is necessary to study ideological and political work under the condition of opening up to the world.

The "essence" of the above six points is "to create a relaxed and harmonious atmosphere and environment," "to politically relax," and "to adopt a democratic attitude towards literature and art."

The above six points are actually the keynote of Hu Qili's speech on spiritual civilization, which was delivered on behalf of the CPC Central Committee to some units in Shanghai in April of this year. The relevant resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session will contain the details of these outlines.

The Issue of Reforming the Political Structure and Different Views

A well-informed person told me that when the Beidaihe conference discussed the question of reforming the political structure, there was a lot of dispute. The officials could not reach a consensus on certain questions. The questions discussed at the conference were:

Whether the focal point of political reform is reform of the administrative structure or reform of the structure of state power;

why the functions of the party are still not separated from those of the government and why power is still over-centralized;

will reform of the political structure be carried out in an overall and coordinated way or in stages; and

how the party should change its present methods of ruling the country (someone mentioned that this opinion was carried in a speech made by Deng Xiaoping in 1980).

During the discussion at the Beidaihe conference, someone complained about Shanghai's SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO, saying that some news reports and articles advocated a multiparty system and were aimed at abolishing the party's leadership. Inside and outside the conference, some veteran cadres were extremely disgusted with the notion of casting away the party's leadership. However, there were also some who defended SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO.

At the conference, a lot of veteran cadres pointed out: The aim of the reform of political structure is to stick to the party's leadership, so the "four upholds" must never be abandoned. Some people did not agree with this view. They thought that the fundamental aim of the reform of the political structure is to achieve democracy. Furthermore, some pointed out that the most important thing at present is to achieve democracy in policymaking.

Although the Beidaihe conference held many discussions on reform of the political structure, no explicit and specific conclusion was reached because of differences of opinion. Finally, the policymakers pointed out that reform of the political structure can continue to be discussed both inside and outside the party and both in the government and in public, but the reform should not be carried out hastily. Investigations, studies, and experiments should be carried our first. Specific arrangements for the overall reform of the political structure will be initiated later.

"Relaxation and Harmony" and "Wait and See"

Although there have been heated discussions on reform of the political structure among the people, and members of theoretical and academic circles have written articles and given various opinions, thus creating a mood of "a hundred schools of thought contending," CPC leaders have not yet made clear-cut statements on the issue. Some people even thing that the CPC leaders only want administrative reform, an incomplete separation between party and government functions, and the delegation of power, but do not want an overall reform of the present political structure. If such is the case, the so-called reform of the present political structure will be nothing but a means of dealing with public opinion and a political game evolved from the political trickery of "adroitly guiding action according to circumstances."

This April, Hu Qili made a series of speeches on the building of spiritual civilization in some units, proposing to create a "relaxed and harmonious environment," but many intellectuals adopted a calm attitude and wait-and-see attitude because they had already tired of political games.

If the Communist Party continues to play politics, will it have the people's support? Will it be able to overcome the difficulties in the reform of the economic structure? Will it be able to calm people's sentiments? The intellectuals have become politically more mature and the people's political consciousness has also reached a new level.

Those who believe that the people in Beijing are extremely concerned with the Beidaihe conference and the upcoming Sixth Plenary Session are wrong. Although some are optimistic, when you ask the opinion of most of the intellectuals about the future of the reform, they either remain silent or just stretch out their hands and say: "Wait and see!"

I hope that these prophets and pessimists will eventually find themselves proved wrong.

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BRIEFS

HU YAOBANG WRITES INSCRIPTION--On 9 August, Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, wrote an inscription for Hebei in Beidaihe: Bring Forth New Ideas in Dealing With Concrete Matters Relating to Work, and Unite in Advancing Bravely. This inscription fully manifested Comrade Hu Yaobang's concern for and great expectations of cadres at all levels and the people throughout the province. On 19 August, the provincial party committee held a Standing Committee meeting to discuss ways to study, publicize, and successfully implement Comrade Hu Yaobang's inscription. This inscription is totally consistent with the guidelines that young and middle-aged cadres should master two major skills, to creatively carry out the principles and policies of the central authorities and to correctly handle intraparty contradictions, as set forth by Comrade Hu Yaobang last April when he was inspecting Taihang Shan. [Excerpts] [Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 20 Aug 86 SK] /12624

'RANDOM THOUGHTS' MANUSCRIPTS COMPLETED--Beijing, 6 September (XINHUA)--Chinese novelist Ba Jin, 82, has completed manuscripts for a book about his 60 year's writing career. He began the work in 1978. According to today's PEOPLE'S DAILY, his five-volume, 420,000 character book, entitled "Random Thoughts," contains 150 prose texts. At a recent meeting held by the weekly LITERARY GAZETTE to mark the completion of the manuscripts, writers called his new text "a great book speaking the truth." In 1982 recipient of the International Dante Prize, Ba Jin now serves as the chairman of the Chinese Writers Association. His representative works include "Family," "Spring," "Autumn," "The Triology of Love" and "Autumn in Spring." In 1983 French President Francois Mitterrand awarded Ba Jin the "Legion of HOnor" in Shanghai. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0057 GMT 6 Sep 86 OW] /12913

LINGUIST ADMITTED TO COMMUNIST PARTY--Beijing, 11 September (XINHUA)--Lu Shuxiang, a leading linguist and grammarian of China's, was admitted as a member by the Chinese Communist Party here today. Lu, 82, once studied at Britain's Oxford and London universities. He is author of several authoritative Chinese grammar books and deputy to the National People's Congress. In 1983, he donated 60,000 yuan to the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences as a fund to encourage young linguists. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1458 GMT 11 Sep 86 OW] /12913

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IMPORTANCE OF REFORM TO RURAL ECONOMY DISCUSSED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 23, 6 Jun 86 pp 26-27

[Article by Zhou Yuan [0719 0626]: "'A New Generation of People', An Interview with Ji Bingxuan, Secretary of Yanshi County Party Committee"]

[Text] In the decades of being a journalist, I have interviewed many county party committee secretaries, including Ji Bingxuan, secretary of the party committee of Yanshi County, Henan. Ji Bingxuan]0679 3521 6513], is now 34 years old, younger than all others. Before assuming his present position a little over a year ago, he was a county magistrate for 2 years. Before interviewing this young party secretary, I was mentally prepared to do some home work, and presumed that a young man usually lacks experience, and ahead of him are hurdles he must overcome in order to build up his knowledge and experience and develop his talent.

With a comfortable and easy air prevailing over the interview, he talked in a calm monotone while I listened attentively so that I would not miss those important points and pertinent figures. Although I knew that those economic data I had written down are mostly useless, I still jotted them down on paper as if a force of habit persuaded me to do so. When I did the writing, I kept reminding myself that he simply repeated what his predecessors had said before him despite new figures and new developments. Generally speaking, Yanshi and other counties are all in the same situation. Like his predecessors, Ji Bingxuan followed the same old path and did the same old talking. The only difference between him and his predecessors is the subject matter. His subject matter is a variety of problems concerning commodity production while his predecessors' was a variety of agricultural productive activities. It appears that county party committee secretaries of this generation have been left no alternative but to grope in the footsteps of their predecessors. At the end of the more than 3 hours interview, I habitually closed the notebook and began a meditation. Suddenly, a voice buzzed in my ears, making me feel as if there were a silver lining looming large in my eyes. By this time, Ji Bingxuan murmurred with a prodding tone: "Should fellows like me continue parroting what others say or try something else to solve problems in a way appropriate to actual local conditions?" I immediately applauded and said: "A good questions. I want to know about your views on this."

He said: "Let us continue tomorrow."

The following day when Ji Bingxuan entered the conference room, a fellow reporter accompanying me whispered in my ear: "Look at his eyes which tell me that last night he got no sleep." I then looked at him and was impressed by his thoughtful demeanor.

After sitting down, as was expected, Ji Bingxuan began a briefing in a well-organized way while riveting his eyes to a notebook loaded with hard facts he wrote down last night.

He said: "Various conditions of the 1980's have undergone changes. Gone are the great leep forward of the 1950's and the great cultural revolution of the 1970's. Meanwhile, the leftist trash has been eliminated and the system of the planned economy is in the process of transformation. How should a county party committee secretary of the 1980's carry out his tasks?

"What attitude should we take toward ourselves and our tasks after we were placed in our present leadership positions by the historical currents? We are nothing but county party committee secretaries of this generation. First, we are not revolutionary heroes who can command high respect. Second, we are not well-experienced cadres moving upward step by step from the grass roots. Third, we have no credentials in areas of technology and invention. It is the economic development of modern times that has placed us where we are. Economic reform is our future and our lifeline. We must take our position as the most advanced representatives of productive forces of our time. We must bring economic reform to a successful conclusion. We must see that it will succeed and will not fail. If we fail, we must automatically step down and give our positions to younger successors in accordance with the demands of the Central Committee and the wishes of the masses. Merely being an honest public servant as distinguished from other greedy and corrupt officials is far from satisfactory. We must prove ourselves to be ones who are not foolish, decadent, backward, ossified and conservative. The masses have placed different demands on us because they are no longer the same persons as we have seen before. Today, under the output-related system of contracted responsibility, peasants have also become another type of persons.

"In the past, what a peasant yearned for during the off farming season was light work which gave more work points which enabled him to provide his family with refined white flour bread and his daughters with good-quality chests when they were old enough to get married. He also wanted to see that his sons were all employed. If he could do all this, he would be satisfied. But today is different. The enforcement of the output-related system of contracted responsibility has resulted in expanded commodity production and abolishing the centralized and assigned food grain procurement orders. In its wake is a wave of impact felt by people across the countryside, a wave that has directly carried peasants toward markets loaded with a wide variety of goods. Once they get there, some make profits just like fish swimming in water while others simply said: My god, I just don't know what to do with the market!". Joining the market, every peasant will have to consider the following question: what crops should he grow and what should he do so that he can parlay his investment into the biggest

profit ever. By this time, what peasants expect of their leadership is not exhortations urging them to harvest wheat or do the spring farming but services. My home is crowded with peasants almost everyday. What they want from me is information, capital, technology, land where plants can be built, motorcycles, and tractors. Today, peasants are motivated from within by a force in favor of development but independent of man's will. It is a pioneering force that no one can resist. If those of us now in leadership positions can adapt themselves to this new situation, they can certainly serve peasants in a better way than others who are unable to measure themselves up to this situation. As for myself, I cannot say that I am not a corrupt official or that I do not engage in unhealthy practices. The masses won't be satisfied even if I prove to them that I am Mr Clean capable of redressing grievances from the masses. Placing demands on oneself in this way means underestimating oneself. We must do something compatible with the development of history. We must promote economic reform and develop productive forces. If that is not the case, why don't we call old retired comrades back to service and what useful purposes can be served by keeping us where we are now?" As I mentioned earlier, Ji Bingxuan is the youngest county party committee secretary I have ever interviewed. After listening to the above remarks, I want to say that he is a young man saturated with a modern spirit, a man with the keenest sense of responsibility for history, and a man standing out with good judgment. It is wrong to regard young men with contempt. I deeply feel that we must feel enchanted with our party's decision to employ this group of middle-aged and younger cadres, who represent our hopes and our brilliant future.

In a general analysis of the well-being of more than 700,000 peasants in Yanshi, Ji Bingxuan said:

"Some 10 percent of peasants now on the way to become rich have begun to build multi-story homes, and put into use new equipment. Judging from what they eat and wear, they can be called the first class peasants in the countryside.

"Some 60 percent of those looking forward to becoming rich are still groping for ways leading to affluence. So far, they have not yet taken any serious step in that direction. They are often seen in streets making this an issue and a subject of debate. Wherever they go, they actively seek information in the hope that someone has opened a path so others can take advantage of it. They are now supposed to be the most active force in the countryside.

"Some 20 percent are peasants wearing broad smiles or members of well-fed and well-clothed peasant households. They often say: they are not lazy bones. With an annual income of nearly 1,000 yuan, they are no longer worried about the availability of food and clothes. Who knows whether the policy is subject to change or not?

"Another 10 percent scattered across the mountains live in poverty. With per-capita income of 180 yuan a year, they depend on raising hogs and cattle in exchange for edible oil and salt. They are major targets of our support.

"As the peasants' way of life and social concepts undergo changes, and with their destiny in their own hands, they have become masters of their own society. They can no longer be pushed around by anyone any more. In old time, brigade cadres were very popular with villagers. Today, their popularity steadily declines because of their inability to provide services that will guide peasants to become rich. Now in the countryside, nothing is more important than to lead people to become rich. Any proposal to help peasants become rich will have their full support and any proposal that does not offer such help will be rejected by them. Peasant Zhang Daan [1728 1129 1344] one day came to see me at home and said: magistrate, what shall I do now? You told me that by growing white poplar seedlings, I could make a fortune. Now I cannot sell these seedlings. What am I supposed to do? In my opinion, this demand is justified.

"We are living in an era in which the old gives way to the new. As we--county party committee secretaries of this generation--are leading the masses to explore the ways for development, we should never act and view problems in a sterotyped way."

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REPORT ON GUANGDONG'S THEORETICAL CIRCLES

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 25, 23 Jun 86 pp 19-20

[Article by Li Ili [2621 0001 5867]: "A Look at Guangdong's Theoretical Circles"]

[Text] Recently, this author traveled south and visited Guangdong and met many friends in the theoretical circles. My first impression is that Guangdong's theoretical circles have developed a democratic, practical and open scholarly atmosphere, exhibiting the encouraging phenomenon of a flourishing of theories.

A Democratic Atmosphere

One day in the middle of May, I had the honor to attend a "seminar on the reform of ideological guidelines for study" convened by the provincial party committee. Those participating in the seminar included the standing committee of the provincial party committee and chief responsible comrades above the office and bureau levels in provincial organs. The seminar invited 2 economists to speak on a special topic; one of them was Zhuo Jiong [0587 3518], a former vice director of the Guangdong Academy of Social Sciences, and the other was Wang Zhuo [3769 3820], vice director of the Guangdong Economic Reform Committee. The topic for discussion was commodity economy under socialist conditions. What was interesting was that the 2 specialists held different ideas and there were many opposing views. The audience was surprised to see that there were such opposing views expressed in a meeting to discuss ideological principles sponsored by the provincial party committee. What was going on? Was this deliberate? One of the responsible comrades of the provincial party committee in charge of the meeting explained that the debate was entirely natural and coincidental: the provincial party committee had neither "evaluated" drafts of their talks beforehand nor instructed them as to what to say; indeed, the debate between Zhuo and Wang had begun before that. It was not something bad for the theoretical circles to debate in their study of theoretical and scholarly issues. The provincial party committee believed that all these were natural and within the realm of academic democracy.

This incident impressed me deeply. In Guangdong, friends introduced me to the developing relaxed atmosphere which is conducive to the flourishing of

theories and the expansion of scholarly activities. The inner relationships of the theoretical circles and their relationships to all apsects of society are quite normal and harmonious. To use the words of some comrades, "there is rivalry between schools but no sectarian bias." In other words, contending between different opinions and understandings exists, but there is no room here for those who engage in sectarianism, in getting rid of those who disagree with them, in applying labels or in attacking others indiscriminately. There are many concrete examples to illustrate this, but the most popular one is the vigorous debate caused by Zhuo Jiong's theory of commodity economy.

Zhuo Jiong is a veteran social scientist who joined the revolution in the 1930's. He had taught at Zhongshan University and is now 78 years old. In the early 1960's, he had published an article in the magazine ZHONGGUO JINGJI WENTI proposing that socialism should implement a "planned commodity economy." Based on the bad results caused by the negation of commodity economy during the "Great Leap Forward" in 1958, he believes that in the system of public ownership, products, whether they are from ownership by the whole people, or from collective ownership, as long as there is the social division of labor, have to go through a process of exchange and become commodities. We have to self-consciously use the law of value in order to arouse the active nature of the producers. He paid a high price for such bold explorations. After order had been brought out of chaos, Zhuo Jiong, who is now in his 70's, has been even more diligent in theoretical studies and writing, and was awarded the honor of a special model of labor. His ideas attracted a group of scholars and people who share the same views, forming the so-called "Zhuo Jiong School," or the "social division of labor school." However, there are many who hold views opposed to Zhuo Jiong's theories and in the past few years, there have been colorful scholarly debates on many occasions and in many publications in Guangdong. Such debates are still going on. Scholarly debates do not affect the normal relations between people. Cai Fusheng [5591 7450 3932], Head of Jinan's School of Economics and Zhuo Jiong are "opponents in debates" on scholarly matters, but they are also close friends. Such examples are very common in Guangdong's theoretical circles.

The creation of such a rather healthy and harmonious atmosphere does not depend on the quality of individuals but on the initiation and promotion of the party leadership. The Guangdong party committee adopts the policy of bringing order out of chaos, firmly reversing the cases of comrades who had been wronged in past campaigns. It openly advocates democratic freedom in scholarship, encouraging people to explore boldly; and as for certain mistakes and problems which emerge in the process of exploration, party leadership, based on analysis and principles, has been able to forgive and tolerate, thereby preserving the liveliness of scholarship. Such developments have been often praised by Guangdong's theoretical circles and have given people the courage to engage in theoretical studies. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the number of Guangdong's social science research organizations have increased from 16 to 86, and 61 scholarly social organizations have been revived or newly created, with more than 16,000 non-professional members. During the "Sixth 5-Year Plan," the whole province has produced more than 4,400 research items, and this is more than the sum total of the past 25 years.

A Practical Learning Atmosphere

At Huanan Normal College, I have interviewed some of the editors and authors of two book series--"Series on the Modernization of Philosophy" and "Series on Philosophies of the New Era." They are some of those who have dedicated themselves to the exploration and cultivation of scholarship. The chief editor of the series is Huanan Normal College's vice-chancellor and professor of philosophy Li Keming [7812 0344 2494]. He is a scholar well-known for his lively ideas. In his not too large study, he gave a rather special speech: "We--the editors and authors of the series are not content to just sit and talk; we advocate action. It cannot go on like this if theory, especially philosophical studies, always lags behind the vital reality. When one advocates the modernization of philosophy, some people will engage enthusiastically in the rivalry over slogans and means, over whether this slogan is scientific or unscientific. Let them argue; our position is that 'before the argument is settled, the soldiers have already crossed the river'--let us take action first before saying another word. We organize our contingent and open up the territories. Our contingent includes professors, associate professors, and a group of young graduate students. Our common goal is to carry out applied philosophical research for the purpose of socialist modernization, to enrich and develop the integration of philosophy and modern science, and to search for and establish a series of branch disciplines so that philosophy can better play a more direct and specific leading function. Philosophy should answer a series of real questions which contemporary man is generally concerned with. All these are, of course, both broad and important issues and our action is only the first exploratory step."

At this time, of these 2 series, 3 titles in the "Series on the Modernization of Philosophy" have already been published and more than 100,000 copies have been printed. They are very popular with the readers and, with 6 other theoretical monographs published in Guangdong, have received the second place award for national popular political theory readers. As for the about-to-be-published "Series on Philosophies of the New Era," the manuscripts of five titles such as "Philosophy of Value" and "Philosophy of Management" have been completed and will be sent to the printer soon.

Here, we should also mention another book. It is also an exploration based on Guangdong theoretical workers' reflection on the reality and on their intent to reform. This is "A Reflection on Issues of Reality" published by Guangdong Higher Education Publishing Firm. Last year, the propaganda department of Guangdong party committee and the provincial Department of Higher Education invited some of the faculty and students from six institutions of higher learning in the Guangzhou area for a chat. The young students, basd on their special sensitivity to and interest in life, raised many concrete and lively questions, for example: how to evaluate a person's worth, how to view life, how to deal with certain Western ideas and certain phenomena in our lives, and how to view the reforms. After the discussion, they decided to publish a book, based on the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method and using the theoretical perspective, to answer the young people's questions. This book is based on the collective discussion and authorship of the

theoretical teachers in the various schools and edited by Zhongshan University's Professor Liu Rong [0491 1539]. It is not didatic and uses the approach of informal chats to discuss the issues and has inspired some university students. Guangdong has designated this book as one of the supplementary readings in its universities' political theory courses.

The practical learning atmosphere of Guangdong is also manifested in the theoretical circles' focus on activities which revolve around reform, opening to the outside and the four modernizations. In recent years, Guangdong has convened conferences for both theoretical and actual workers, such as a seminar on the theories for economic reforms, a seminar on strategies for socioeconomic development, a seminar on theories and policies on opening to the outside world, a seminar on the concept of "one country, two systems," a seminar on the development of Guangdong's external trade and commerce, and scholarly conferences on the special economic zones, and issues in the dialectic method of socialism. Many leading comrades of Guangdong and Guangzhou, such as Ye Xuanping [0673 6693 1627], Xie Fei [6200 7378], and Deng Hanguang [6772 3352 0342] have often found time to participate in such seminars. The many results of these meetings have already played a marked role in actual work.

Such activities have also profoundly changed the views of the theoretical contingent itself; more and more of them are moving from their studies toward society, from stressing the scholarly value of their topics to their social value, and from working on great multivolume scholarly works to surveys and research so as to provide evidences for solving actual problems. They are also proud of what they are doing. Many theoretical workers have been invited by organizations, enterprises and some rural units to write reports and act as consultants. According to estimates made by those concerned, more than 60 percent of the provincial theoretical contingent are now engaged in the study of actual problems.

In order to promote the social science workers' service to current reforms, open-door and construction, Guangzhou has also established a service company for the development of soft sciences. Members of this company are all young people whose political and educational qualities are relatively high and their average age is only 28. They use the contract responsibility method to organize the social and natural sciences workers of the Guangzhou area and their services include providing society with news, forecasts, feasibility research and policy studies. Since the founding of the company a year ago, it has already carried out research on such topics as: "policy on the fundamental improvement of Guangzhou's social order," "plan to examine and evaluate Guangzhou's party and political cadres," "plan to improve Guangzhou's traffic management," "on the tentative plan to build a 'fermentation valley' (biochemical engineering) in Guangzhou," and "policy and strategy on Guangzhou's development of the tertiary industry." All of these have received close attention from Guangzhou's party and municipal organs. They also have an information service for providing market news and feasibility studies for both domestic and foreign industrial and commercial enterprises. They have not received a penny of investment from the state, but they have done many good things for the country and have also made considerable profits.

Attitude Toward Open-door Policy

At present, Guangdong has the largest number of in-coming and out-going households in the country and there are also many overseas Chinese townships. Geographically and historically, there are superior conditions for the open-door policy. With the implementation of the economic open-door policy, Guangdong has also begun scholarly exchanges with Hong Kong, Macao and many foreign countries.

During the spring of last year and this year, Guangdong's and part of Hong Kong and Macao's social scientists have successively held annual conferences on "Marching Toward the Relationship Between Guangdong and Hong Kong in the 21st Century" in Hong Kong and Zhuhai. In the speech at the opening ceremony of the first conference, Xie Zhiwei [6200 1807 0251], chancellor of Hong Kong's Baptist College said that historically, Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao belonged together. In the process of returning Hong Kong to the motherland, it is necessary for scholars from different systems and areas to study together the question of Guangdong and Hong Kong's development and to strengthen their cooperation. In the meeting, the tentative proposals to establish "Hong Kong studies" and studies in the Zhujiang Delta and the golden triangle of Hong Kong, Macao and Guangzhou aroused the interests of the conference participants. During the first conference, certain agreements have also been reached on future research cooperation and scholarly exchanges and the decision was made to have such a conference annually. Everyone agreed that these two conferences marked an auspicious beginning for the cooperative scholarly activities of scholars in Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao.

The "Conference on Sun Yat-sen" which was held in Guangzhou at the end of 1984 was also a major international conference. It invited scholars from Hong Kong, Macao, Japan, the United States, France, and Australia; and with scholars from our country, there was a total of more than 100 participants in the conference. The conference discussed vigorously Sun Yat-sen's thought and its historical place and role. Some foreign conference participants said, "I could never have thought that there is such a high scholarly standard of study of Sun Yat-sen in the mainland!"

According to data, during the "Sixth 5-Year Plan," there has been a lot of external scholarly activities in Guangdong. It received more than 300 delegations of experts and more than 1,000 persons from foreign countries and from Hong Kong and Macao. The number of times and persons sent abroad to give lectures has been more than 30, and the province has often sent scholars to Hong Kong, Macao and foreign countries for scholarly investigations. Such exchanges and investigations have resulted in a number of achievements of scholarly value and practical economic significance. For example, the investigation and research on prices in Guangdong and Hong Kong conducted jointly by the Guangdong Institute for Price Research and Jinan University has played an excellent role in enlightening the departments concerned in the adjustment of export prices so as to expand overseas exports through the Hong Kong market. Further, the scholarly circles and more and more people are paying attention to the study of the history of Hong Kong,

the history of overseas Chinese, the history of Guangdong administration through the centuries, the history of river transportation in Zhujiang, the history of Nanyang, and the "maritime silk route."

The open-door policy has a positive impact on the development of socioeconomic and theoretical studies in Guangdong. How about its impact on social trends and on the people's psychology?

Some of the scholars in Guangdong's social sciences circles have successively held two seminars, focusing on how to evaluate the role of the open-door policy and reform in the building of socialist spiritual civilization. The seminar participants used the facts from their research and investigation to prove that the open-door policy and reform have not only promoted the building of socialist material civilization but have also played a positive role in the building of socialist spiritual civilization. In the last few years, the positive changes in the spiritual life of Guangdong's urban population include: 1) The open-door and reform have caused Guangdong's broad masses of urban and rural population to go through two major transitions--from self-support or semiself-support to a commodity economy and from traditional agriculture to modernized agriculture, thereby freeing the people from the extreme left ideology which has fettered them for a long time and allowing them to have an emancipation of their spirits and a renewal of their understanding. 2) The open-door and reform have generally improved the livelihood of the broad masses of the people, thereby strengthening their love for and determination and faith in socialist construction. 3) The open-door and reform have compelled the broad masses of urban and rural population to raise constantly their educational levels. They realize that the key to becoming wealthy, to bringing order out of chaos, to getting rid of the dirt and becoming clean, and to becoming new is to be more educated. The pursuit of knowledge and education is the hallmark of the spiritual civilization of the urban and rural population. 4) The open-door and reform have propelled many basic level cadres, demobilized and retired armymen and the broad masses of youths into becoming representatives of the advanced urban and rural productive force. They have idealism, morality, education, and discipline. They are informed, know many different ways, can endure hardship, and are efficient. They are showing their skills in the building of new socialist cities and villages, fully displaying the style of the era of a new generation. 5) The open-door and reform have also led people into a broad and deep social interaction (including external interactions). Urban and rural laboreres are no longer simply living the life of the 3 steps: "work--eat--sleep": the rich and varied content of a spiritual life such as learning, recreation, social intercourse has been added, and these would certainly play a catalytic role in causing the people's thought and social trends to change from one of quantity to one of quality. All these have resulted from the positive role played by the open-door and reform; it is the mainstream. Of course, they would also bring something else. But as Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out, if only we can achieve "first, the open-door, then the strengthening of ideological and political work," then we can certainly achieve victory on the two battle-fronts of material and spiritual civilizations!

12380/12947
CSO: 4005/877

BRIEFS

MAONAN NATIONALITY NAME CHANGE--In response to a request by the cadres and people of the Maonan nationality, the Huanjiang County People's Congress of Guangxi has adopted a resolution changing the nationality's name from Maonan [3029 7181] to Maonan [3029 0589]. The State Council recently sent a formal notice to the people's government of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, concurring with the request. One of the minorities residing in Guangxi, the Maonans retain their own spoken language, although they do not have a written language. Many Maonans can speak both Zhuang and Chinese and use written Chinese. [Text] [Changchun JILIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 86 p 1]

CSO:4005/1

COMMENTARY URGES SANCTIONS AGAINST FRAME-UPS

Guiyang GUIZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 28 May 86 p 1

[Commentary: "False Accusations Must Be Punished"]

[Text] False accusation is not only a trick used by despicable characters to harm people but also a violation of party discipline and state law. Those who make false accusations should not only be condemned by public opinions inside and outside the party but also be brought before law and discipline. They must not be allowed to remain at large. Recently after Gansu Province punished Li Shiming [2621 0013 2494] for committing the crime of false accusation, Guiyang City sternly dealt with the incident in which He Yunhua [0149 0061 5478], a worker of the Guiyang City New-style Decorative Materials Plant, lodged false accusations against his plant director and interferred with the reform. This is necessary for promoting healthy tendencies, supporting reform, and protecting good people.

Those who make false accusations always pose as "heroes" fighting with "evil people and evil things" under the high-sounding banner of "revolution." Their habitual practice is what leftists used during the period of "taking class struggle as the key link." They cook up charges, exaggerate criticism, make up stories, and distort facts. Moreover, they often use major tasks set forth by the party for every period such as party rectification and correcting unhealthy tendencies to exaggerate the issue. They will cook up information according to the issue you are investigating to mix the spurious with the genuine, disrupt your view, and hamper the smooth progress of the party's tasks. As they say "an eight-fen stamp keeps you busy for 6 months" and lead you by the nose. This not only makes the accused a victim but often causes serious interference and disruption on the correct judgement and normal work process of concerned leading organs.

At present, the spearhead of their attack is directed at reform and reformers. Reform is bound to touch some people's personal interests or selfish desire. Talented entrepreneurs are regarded highly by the party and the people, thus making those despicable characters who are jealous of worthy and virtuous people even more indignant. This often causes a strange phenomenon that whoever can and dares to work and is devoted to reform will bring upon themselves gratuitous attacks, as the saying goes "Malignance emerges when things go well and calumny follows noble character." This has dampened

healthy trends and encouraged evil practices. Some people call it "human pollution" which is very true.

The key to false accusation is that leaders must keep a sober head and not be provoked by those words that seem to be revolutionary. Especially, they should have basic understanding and evaluation of their subordinates and not easily believe slander. They should not let those who make false accusations to "cater to thier tastes" just because they have some "leftist" ideas left in their mind. Of course, more importantly, they should mete out serious punishment for those who make false accusations. There is a stupid idea, called "protecting informers." Those who expose real evil persons and deeds should of course be protected, but those who make false accusations must not be tolerated. Protecting them is to hurt the innocent. Is this not confusing the good with the bad and confound right and wrong?

False accusation is one of the customs left behind from the "cultural revolution." The idea that it is right to make a false accusation is actually a variety of the idea that "it is right to rebel against reactionaries." It is now time to heighten our vigilance against it and stop it through criticism and education or legal means.

12302
CSO: 4005/863

LITIGATION MANIA PREVAILS IN GUIZHOU

Guiyang GUIZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by Lu Shizhong [4151 0099 1813]: "'To Rebel Is Justified' Versus 'Litigation Mania'"]

[Text] "Lodging complaints" in this article does not refer to normal lawsuits, appeals or reflection of situations (these "complaints" should of course be "lodged"). It refers to those activities resembling "rebellions" in the period of 10-year turmoil. "To rebel is justified" was a popular slogan then. Today, some people want to "lodge complaints" against everything, creating a fad that says "to lodge complaints is justified." We may consider them two things of one nature emerged under two different circumstances. Both are distortion of facts, irreverence of truth, and interference of normal political life. The only difference is in their scale and influence.

If we say "to rebel is justified" was prompted by a fanatic movement, we should say "to lodge complaints is justified" sprouted mainly from the soil of "putting individuals above everything else." The former along with the negated movement have been seen through and cast aside by the people. However, the latter seems to continue to exist in real political life under the garb that confuses and poisons the people's mind and often causes adverse effects that hinder reform and interfere in work.

Behind the phenomenon, "to lodge complaints is justified," whether the complaint is signed or anonymous, there often is only one motive--namely, all for the individual; there often is only one background for its appearance--namely, when personal interests cannot be satisfied or are restricted; and there is only one criterion for judging right and wrong--namely, to see if it benefits oneself. Except for these, they have no other "reasons" to lodge "complaints." They would never do so even if the sky caved in.

What do they "complain" about? Exposed in the newspaper and often heard about are mainly three kinds: 1) "Complaints" against reform. When a unit carries out reform and affects the interests of certain people, there must be "complaints." 2) "Complaints" against leaders. When personal opinions are violated in the arrangement of work by leadership, when someone is criticized, or when someone's wish cannot be satisfied, "complaints" will be lodged. 3) "Complaints" against the advanced. When a positive and enterprising person

becomes a model or advanced worker, or is admitted into the party, promoted, and rewarded, the phenomenon of "shooting birds that stand out" will appear and "complaints" will be lodged as the times require.

Such "complaints" aimed at attacking others, in order to get the attention of leading departments, often employ unscrupulous means to twist injustice into the so-called "justice." Some try to find fault; some confuse one thing with another; some make groundless accusations; some distort facts, some act on subjective assumption; some cook up stories; and some make false accusations. In sum, they have no intention to seek truth from facts but they know how to drum up a case. It is thus clear how today's phenomenon "to lodge complaints is justified" resembles the past phenomenon "to rebel is justified."

Of course, they are not exactly alike. "To rebel" was an overall mass movement and formed a trend whereas "to lodge" is only a rare or even isolated phenomenon. The former was carried out on a large scale whereas the latter is conducted through secretive methods. Regardless of their scale and form, they both can cause detrimental effects on the party and the people. Everybody knows the grave calamity the former brought to the country and nation whereas the harm the latter did has not been completely detected by the people because it is local and covert. As a matter of fact, since in the latter "all it takes is an 8-fen stamp to keep you busy investigating for 6 months," thus resulting in unnecessary waste, there have been cases in which cadres were wronged, talents were stifled, ideological "burdens" were imposed on cadres, confusion was created in work, and even unjustified verdicts, frame-ups, and false accusations were created. It is thus clear that if the former is considered as an open destruction, the latter should be considered as a source of political interference that sabotages from within and whose pernicious influence must not be ignored.

Due to a lack of understanding of the pernicious influence of the idea that "to lodge complaints is justified," some incomprehensible abnormal phenomena have appeared. For instance, all "complaints" are treated as the "reflection of the masses," even if it is the case that "the guilty party files the suit." Some charges are purely unwarranted. What is worse, some people repeatedly slandered others in the form of "lodging complaints" and leading departments clearly knew that "it was not true" but let them get away with it and let those who "lodged complaints" continue to repeat rumors. At most, they gave the "accused" a few words of comfort such as "ignore him." This seems to make the "complaints" "naturally justified" whereas cadres and model and advanced workers devoted to reforms and adhered to principles being attacked and slandered also become "justified" (for they should be able to withstand scolding.) This is a demonstration of unhealthy tendencies.

In China, the people enjoy extensive democracy. The masses of people can reflect their opinions and demands to the party and government, exercise supervision over state employees, and expose and inform against the phenomena of law and discipline violations and corruption. Every cadre and party member also has the right to report to higher authorities on situations and opinions, which is stipulated in the Constitution. Those who "lodged complaints" used the democratic right of the people to give vent to personal spite and seek revenge and used higher organizations to fix whom they have wanted to fix.

This tramples on the democratic right of the people, a kind of political disturbance, and a custom left behind by "to rebel is justified."

"To rebel is justified" has already been swept onto the rubbish heap of history. "To lodge complaints is justified" should also be removed. We should create a serious political environment and put up a forbidden sign saying "dead end" in front of those who believe in "lodging complaints is justified" to make it hard for them to "make any move." The key to this lies in leadership. With regard to "complaints," leading organs should conduct thorough investigation and study of not only the accuser and the masses but also the accused and local leaders to get to the bottom of the case. They should also dare to affirm and negate. They must never avoid the issue, "hang it up," and let the accused take the blame. At the same time, they should protect and support those reformers, model and advanced workers, and cadres who dare to adhere to the principle. They should not demand perfection or unscrupulously negate them just because some people have "lodged complaints" against them. In addition, those irresponsible "accusers" who distorted facts should be investigated, handled, and punished according to law. In this way, the face of injustice of those who "lodged complaints" will be revealed and facts will warn the people that lodging unwarranted "complaints" will be punished.

12302
CSO: 4005/861

ROOTS OF PARTY'S UNHEALTHY WORKSTYLE DISCUSSED

Lhasa XIZANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 May 86 p 3

[Article by Gong Puguang [1362 5543 0342]: "Brief Discussion of the Roots of Unhealthy Workstyle of the Party"]

[Text] The issue of the party's workstyle is an important matter concerning the success and failure of the cause and the rise and decline of the organization of our party. To genuinely achieve a fundamental turn for the better in the party's workstyle and dig out the "dirt" that produced unhealthy workstyle in the party, we must have a relatively clear understanding of the various roots of the party's unhealthy workstyle in terms of ideological theory. In my humble opinion, the roots of the party's unhealthy workstyle in the Xizang Autonomous Region are mainly in the following four areas:

1. Ideological Roots

A. Incorrect ideological line. In the past, because our ideological line was seriously affected by the pernicious influence of "leftist ideas" and by the customs handed down from the "Great Cultural Revolution," we copied the model of inland China in economic work; went all out with "political factories" and "filling in gaps" in industry; practiced "taking grain as the key link" in agriculture and animal husbandry; practiced "taking class struggle as the key link" and artificially enlarged political distance between us and the personages of religious circle in national and religious affairs and united front work; and carried out "fake, exaggerated, and empty" propaganda. These practices which were seriously divorced from the reality of Xizang have caused grave losses to the cause of our party and fostered serious unhealthy political workstyle of our party.

B. Parochial individualism and the pursuit of personal fame and gain. Individualism and the pursuit of personal fame and gain run counter to the party's fundamental principle of wholeheartedly serving the people. However, this kind of thinking exists to a rather serious degree among some party members. They measure everything by personal gain. First they see if they can benefit politically. Then they see if they can gain some material interests. Although there are only a few of them, they have left a very bad influence on the masses and have seriously undermined the party's workstyle.

C. Weak concept of party spirit. Some party members consider joining the party as the ultimate point of their political life and rest content with the fact that they have joined the party organizationally. They do not pay attention to enhancing party spirit not to mention making strict demands on themselves according to the requirements of party members. They completely forgot that they are one of the vanguards of the Chinese working class and often confuse themselves with the rank and file. They say and do as they please. In disregard of party discipline and state law, they even do things violating law and discipline, causing serious damage to the party image among the masses.

D. Shaky foundation of theory. This problem is rather prominent among the party members of our region. Due to the insufficient study of Marxist theory, many party members are often at a loss amid political tides and ideological trends of society and lack their own views. In some erroneous political movements, they failed to uphold justice and foster healthy trends. For instance, during the "Great Cultural Revolution," Some party members were the first to smash temples and destroy cultural relics, but when it came to the implementation of two agricultural and animal husbandry policies--"taking household management as the key" and "two long-term unchangables"--they became overcautious and were afraid to charge. All this has also caused some adverse effect among the masses and diminished the prestige of the party and its policies.

2. Roots of Organizational Building

This consists of mainly two aspects: One is the issue of developing party members. During a fairly long period of time in the past, due to the influence of "leftist" ideas, we overemphasized family background and personal class status on the issue of developing party members. But, in recent years, we have overemphasized specialization, intellectual work, and those people who dare to be the first in becoming wealthy and who dare to carry out reforms while giving insufficient consideration and observation to the political and ideological qualities of the objects of development. As a result, the contingent of party members has expanded rapidly, but the political quality of party members has failed to improve accordingly. Even those who meet none of the party members' requirements have made their way into the party, undermining the purity of party organizations and bringing about unhealthy workstyle in the party.

Another aspect is the lack of education in party spirit and party discipline. Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, especially since the central government issued an important directive on Xizang's work in 1980, our party organizations at all levels have devoted great energies to economic work and, at the same time, relaxed or even let go of party members' ideological education and education in party spirit and discipline. Grassroots party organizations constantly skipping party activities is a very common phenomenon in agricultural and animal husbandry areas. Government offices and enterprises are better than agricultural and animal husbandry areas as far as organizational construction is concerned, but there is much to be desired in regard to party spirit and discipline education. This situation is bound to cause some party members to become indifferent about the sense of organization

and party spirit and fail to act in strict accordance with the demands of party constitution. This is also a root of unhealthy the party's workstyle.

3. Social Roots

The social roots of the party's unhealthy workstyle refers to the influence of the multifarious unhealthy workstyles of society on the party and the unhealthy workstyle in the party caused by various social factors. They mainly include the following aspects:

A. The influence of the unhealthy workstyle in society. With the rapid progress of reform, opening up, and economy in the past few years, the building of socialist ideological civilization failed to make simultaneous development, resulting in many unhealthy social practices and the influence of decadent western bourgeois ideas. All of this has been transferred to our region and formed great influence in the party. For instance, in regard to politics, there is laissez-faire; in regard to ideology, there is "liberalization;" in regard to economy, some people use power to seek personal gains, give or accept bribes, engage in theft and embezzlement, and violate law and disciplines; in regard to organization, people are appointed by favoritism and principles are discarded; in regard to work style, there are bureaucracy, deception, formality, and unorganized and undisciplined anarchism. Under the influence of these unhealthy workstyles in society, some comrades of our party whose determination to carry out revolution and whose sense of party spirit are weak often carry those ideas of the commodity economy into inner-party political life. Unable to resist the temptation of money and beauty, they become prisoners and add fuel to the flames in this unhealthy tendency, causing very bad consequences.

B. Weak political and ideological work. Political and ideological work is an important experience of our party in winning the victory of Chinese revolution. However, since the focus of the work of the party was shifted to economic construction and along with the development of situation, the original methods of political and ideological work have no longer been able to meet the demands of the new situation. They lack the attraction, persuasion, and authority they are supposed to have. Because of this, they cannot yield proper results. This has, on the one hand, caused political and ideological work to be ignored by society and, on the other hand, caused us to fail to give good guidance and introduce correct ideas to the ideological front. This social phenomenon has also been reflected to the party and caused some of our party members to lose their bold and assured resistance and their own "immunity" against unhealthy workstyle.

C. Propaganda mistakes. During the propaganda of reforms in agricultural and animal husbandry areas, we gave too much publicity to "10,000-yuan households" and to the fact that some people are allowed to get rich first while giving insufficient publicity to the idea of walking side by side on the road to prosperity and the need for those who are already rich to help those who have yet become rich. During the propaganda of enterprise reforms, we gave more publicity to the fact that reform has increased workers' income than to the experience of increasing enterprises' vitality and economic results. We also lacked painstaking investigation and research in propaganda, resulting in some

exaggerated and elevated propaganda. Propaganda mistakes have objectively guided the people to "look toward money." These consequences have also made direct influence on the party.

D. Insufficient popularity of legal system education. Over a long period of time, because we have not done enough work to popularize the common knowledge of the legal system, some party members, even some party leading cadres, are confused about such questions as "Which is higher? Law or the party?" and "Which is higher? Law or power?" They think they can "replace law with power" and "replace law with the party." Because they have no comprehension of the legal system whatsoever, they have gone so far as to violate law and directly contributed to unhealthy workstyle in the party.

4. Historical roots. Although Xizang has completed the transfer from a feudal serf system to socialist system, some remnants of the feudal serf system still exist in the people's ideology. These remnants of old ideology are also a factor contributing to the party's unhealthy workstyle. For instance, main expressions of unhealthy workstyle now existing in our party include using power to seek personal gains, appointing people by favoritism, bureaucracy, arbitrary work style, and giving and accepting bribes. All these can find their roots in the ideology of the age of feudal serf systems.

In addition, although the "Great Cultural Revolution" was over 10 years ago, the pernicious influence of its ultra-"leftist" ideas, unorganized, undisciplined anarchism, and sectarian practice still have some relatively deep influence on the thinking of some comrades. Correcting the party's workstyle is an arduous political task; therefore, relying only on those practices of general discussions and informal talks will get us nowhere. We must do some down-to-earth work in combining theory with practice. Only in this way can we make a fundamental change in our party's workstyle.

12302
4005/862

ILLEGAL PROCUREMENT OF PUBLIC GASOLINE REPORTED IN JIAMUSI

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by Liu Tingli [0491 1694 0500]: "Two Thousand Privately Owned Motorcycles Consume Public Gasoline in Jiamusi"]

[Text] There are more than 3,000 privately-owned motorcycles in Jiamusi, where it is unlawful to purchase of gasoline without a coupon. But less than 1,000 motorcycle owners have registered at the gasoline company for the coupon.

The average cyclist consumes one kg of gasoline per day. The 2,200+ motorcyclists in Jiamusi who have not registered for coupons thus use 2,200 kg daily, equalling 803 tons of gasoline per year. Where does it all come from? After conducting a thorough investigation, this writer has discovered their secret.

A motorcycle owner from Xiangyang District who travels long distances to sell fish says that he averages over 100 km per working day and that he receives most of his gasoline from a friend who works in a government motor unit.

For 3 years a certain houshold on Yongan Street in Qianjin District has owned two motorcycles but has never purchased any gasoline. It has obtained its supply from one government unit or another.

Certain private motorcycle owners obtain public gasoline fraudulently, while some government officials in charge of gasoline or some who drive government vehicles barter public gasoline for cigarettes, liquor or personal favors.

As a result, public gasoline is being steadily diverted to private users through various illegal channels. At the current rate of 790 yuan per ton of gasoline, the total leakage to private users in Jiamusi amounts to an alarming 634,300 yuan. How can we allow this to continue?

CSO:4005/10

PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS CONDUCTS LOCAL INSPECTIONS

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 May 86 p 1

[Article by Fan Qinye [5400 0530 2814]]

[Text] Deputies to the sixth provincial people's congress recently inspected various cities and counties. Performing their duties seriously, the deputies went to the grassroots level to listen to the masses' opinions and demands. They obtained information on the economic situation, science and technology, reform of the education system, implementation of the national economic plan and various laws and so forth in preparation for the forthcoming fourth session of the sixth provincial people's congress.

The deputies went on their inspection tours in groups or individually. Some groups were formed by deputies from the same electoral districts, some by members of the same profession or system, and still some by joining with NPC or city and county deputies. In addition to being briefed by local governments, courts and procuratorates, they also made their own investigations in light of their work and items on the agenda of the forthcoming provincial people's congress session. The scope of their inspections was very extensive, covering all sectors of the economy and the superstructure in both urban and rural areas. They visited advanced units as well as backward or weak units, well-to-do households as well as poor households. Deputies from Suihua Prefecture inspected 146 grassroots units, held 54 discussion meetings, called on 107 urban and rural households and had direct contacts with more than 5,000 voters, listening to a wide range of opinions from all quarters. On their inspection tours, the deputies looked into the people's production and living conditions, offered advice and suggested ways to solve some pressing problems, and exchanged information and opinions and discussed solutions and measures with local governments and departments concerned. Deputies Jing Bowen [7231 0130 2429] and Lu Zhong [7120 1813], who work in organizations directly under the provincial CPC committee, inspected education and public health in the electoral districts of Jiamusi, Huachuan, Yilan and other cities and counties. They found that schools and hospitals were faced with the problems of insufficient funds, housing shortages, poor equipment and an unstable work force, and suggested five solutions to the problems. They also solved four urgent problems for some middle and primary schools and hospitals. The governments and departments concerned at various levels paid serious attention to the deputies' opinions and suggestions and acted promptly when

possible. Jixi City alone acted on 29 suggestions during the deputies' inspection. In response to the 52 problems brought up by deputies and the masses, Mohe County Head Gao Baoxing [7559 0202 5281] brought leaders of the departments concerned together to the places in question, solved 36 of the problems on the spot and made arrangements for the solution of the remaining ones, making sure that every single problem was being taken care of.

During their inspections, the deputies put forth many suggestions, criticisms and opinions. They plan to take these suggestions and opinions to the forthcoming fourth session of the sixth provincial people's congress for further discussion.

12802/12947
CSO: 4005/903

MEETING TO RECTIFY WORK STYLE IN PUBLIC HEALTH SYSTEM HELD

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 May 86 p 1

[Article by staff reporter Li Liqian [2621 6849 9578]]

[Text] The unhealthy trends in the city's public health system have improved somewhat through the "three-prize, one-good" emulation campaign, but many problems remain. This is the basic appraisal made at the meeting on rectifying unhealthy trends in the public health profession convened today.

The experience-exchanging meeting, held jointly by the municipal CPC committee's culture and education office and the municipal public health bureau, used both positive and negative experiences to show the necessity to strengthen ideological and political work and rectify the unhealthy trends in the public health field. In planning on what to do next, the municipal public health bureau put the stress on the following: 1) It is necessary to make serious efforts to correct the unhealthy tendency to one-sidedly seek greater economic returns by charging more, often unnecessarily, and ordering more tests than needed. 2) It is necessary to correct the unhealthy tendency of a few persons who seek personal profit by setting up sickbeds at home, forming medical service associations and treating patients outside of hospital by a group of doctors. 3) It is necessary to correct the uncivilized behavior and work style of treating patients with indifference, making things difficult for them and even scolding them. 4) It is necessary to correct the evil practices of medical personnel and food and health management personnel who use their positions to give personal favors, handle private affairs, or hold things up as a means to seek personal gain.

Wang Rensheng [3769 0086 3932], deputy secretary of the municipal CPC committee, spoke at the meeting. He pointed out emphatically: The correction of unhealthy trends in trades and professions should be combined with the party rectification so that the public health workers' sense of party spirit, level of understanding and professional ethics can be improved through the rectification of party style. Leading comrades at all levels should take the lead by setting an example, combine the rectification of unhealthy trends with the reform of the public health system, solve practical problems and improve work efficiency and quality.

12802/12947
CSO: 4005/903

GANSU STRESSES HANDLING OF MAJOR CASES

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by Reporter Zhang Guojie [1728 0948 2638]: "Overcome Various Obstructions and Step up the Investigation and Prosecution of Major and Serious Cases"]

[Text] At a recent meeting held by the Gansu Provincial CPC Committee to coordinate the investigation and prosecution of major and serious cases with officials of departments concerned under the provincial disciplinary commission and political and judicial commission present, an official of the provincial CPC committee emphasized the need to strengthen the cooperation and coordination of all departments concerned, concentrate efforts to step up the investigation and prosecution of major and serious cases, and speed up the handling of such cases.

During a briefing on Gansu's situation in the investigation and prosecution of major and serious cases, an official of the provincial disciplinary commission said a large number of major and serious cases had been filed for investigation and prosecution and among them, 51.9 percent were economic cases. After over 5 months of work, 39.5 percent of cases were closed. At the same time, a group of new cases were discovered and prosecuted. The major existing problem is that the handling of cases is slow and inefficient and the coordination of all fields is insufficient.

After analyzing existing problems, the official of the provincial CPC committee emphatically pointed out that party organizations and departments concerned at all levels, especially leading comrades, should further study the policies and directives of the CPC Central Committee and the provincial CPC committee on dealing blows at economic crimes, better ideological understanding, and do a serious, good job in leading this struggle. They should uphold principles when they handle cases instead of turning major cases into minor cases and substituting discipline for law. They should boldly and assuredly overcome various kinds of resistance and obstruction and dare to confront and fight the network of personal connections and the practice of pleading for mercy. At present, they should concentrate energies on the investigation and prosecution of major and serious cases concerning units at the provincial level, especially major and serious cases of economic crimes concerning cadres at and above county and department levels. As for other

criminal cases and cases of serious law and discipline violations, priority should also be given to those major and serious cases. Coordinated combined operation of all departments concerned in handling cases is an effective form of organization and an important means in handling major and serious cases, especially economic cases. All departments concerned should play their due part and coordinate with others in various links of the investigation and prosecution of cases in accordance with their scope of responsibility. Political and judicial departments should consider the investigation and prosecution of economic crimes as the main task at present, vigorously and voluntarily cooperate with discipline, industrial, commercial, and financial inspection departments in doing a good job, and, on the prerequisite of seeking truth from facts, speed up the investigation and handling of cases. Cases undergone thorough investigation should be handled promptly, not left hanging forever.

12302
CSO: 4005/862

GANSU CONCLUDES RURAL PARTY RECTIFICATION FORUM

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by reporter Zhang Shenggui [1728 3932 6311]: "Do a Good Job in Rural Party Rectification From Start to Finish"]

[Text] The Gansu Provincial Rural Party Rectification Forum which lasted for 5 days concluded on the afternoon of 23 June in Lanzhou.

This forum was held to implement the guidelines of the party rectification forum of secretaries of 11 provincial and municipal CPC committees in northern China, which was held in Zhengzhou by the Central Commission for Guiding Party Rectification, and the guidelines of the national party rectification forum of minority and remote border areas, which was held in Lanzhou. Deputy secretaries in charge of party rectification and directors of party rectification offices of Gansu's 14 prefectures, autonomous prefectures, and cities attended the forum. At the forum, leaders of various prefectures, autonomous prefectures, and cities reported situations and exchanged experiences of party rectification at the township level, studied and analyzed current problems in party rectification, discussed some policy issues concerning party rectification at the village level and ways to do a good job in party rectification at the township level from start to finish. The forum held that since the provincial rural party rectification forum was held in March 1986, all localities have further strengthened leadership over party rectification, clarified guiding ideology, solved problems in a down-to-earth manner, and achieved clear results of party rectification. As of today, 476 townships and towns, accounting for 30.9 percent of all townships and towns participating in this party rectification campaign, and 823 enterprises and establishments at and below the county level, accounting for 40 percent of all such units participating in this campaign, have completed party rectification.

Prior to the closing of the forum on the afternoon of 23 June, Hou Zongbin, [0186 1350 6333], deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, and Wang Zhanchang [3769 0594 2490], secretary of the provincial discipline inspection commission and deputy head of the party rectification leading group of the provincial CPC committee, spoke one after another. In his speech, Hou Zongbin pointed out that it was necessary to implement the directive given by Comrade Hu Yaobang during his inspection of Gansu and that all party members participating in rural party rectification should, in accordance with Comrade

Hu Yaobang's demand, take the lead in eliminating the old idea of small-scale peasant economy, establishing the new concept of developing commodity production, enlarging sources of production and prosperity, abiding by law and disciplines, doing a good job in the building of ideological civilization, carrying out reforms, and supporting competent people in rural economic reform.

Comrade Wang Zhanchang addressed the issue of how to do a good job in rural party rectification from start to finish. He said we should conscientiously solve problems concerning party members and cadres of districts, townships, and villages involved in the serious abuse of power to seek personal interests and in the serious violations of law and discipline and make a success of the building of leading bodies at township and town levels. Through party rectification, we should bring about a distinct change in the ideological workstyle and disciplinary situation of township and town leading bodies. We should uphold the principle of imposing strict demands on party administation, do a good job in organizational work and party membership registration, carefully avoid the tendency of being too loose. We should ensure that party rectification gives an impetus to the economy and that economic work is used to measure the results of party rectification. At the same time, we should also make preparations as soon as possible for party rectification at the village level.

12302
CSO: 4005/861

SHAANXI URGES BETTER JOB OF RURAL PARTY RECTIFICATION

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by Zheng Gang [6774 6921]: "Focus on Priorities and Make a Success of Rural Party Rectification"]

[Text] On the morning of 18 June, during a discussion of provincial party rectification, the Standing Committee of the Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee emphatically pointed out: Party rectification has now entered a new important period. Party committees at all levels, especially the county level, must continue to deepen understanding, conscientiously enhance leadership, and do a better job in rural party rectification and in consolidating and developing the achievements of party rectification.

After hearing work reports delivered by Li Xipu [2621 3305 3302], head of the leading group for the party rectification of the provincial CPC committee, and other comrades, the standing committee carried out conscientious discussion focusing on the current rural party rectification of Gansu province and made guidance-style arrangements.

During the discussion, members of the standing committee held that rural party rectification should focus on solving the problem concerning leading party members at district, township and village levels using power to seek personal gains and committing serious violations of law and disciplines. This is an issue of utmost concern to the masses inside and outside the party. If it is not solved properly, it will continue to damage the relations between the party and the masses and between the cadres and the masses and dampen the masses' enthusiasm for socialist construction. Through party rectification, those competent, young, and educated party members who have a strong party spirit should be promoted to the leading bodies of districts, townships, and villages so as to genuinely enhance the combat effectiveness of grassroots party organizations.

The standing committee pointed out that attention should be paid to the ideological and political education of party members throughout the whole process of rural party rectification. Emphasis should be put on the following three points: 1) Do a good job in party spirit education focusing on the principle of wholeheartedly serving the people, deepen affections for the masses of people, and enhance the sense of responsibility; 2) do a good job in

current situation and policy education focusing on the development of a commodity economy, deepen people's understanding of current reform and economic situation, increase the awareness of commodities, overcome the ideas of small-scale peasant-economy and feudal patriarchal concepts, and overcome the problem of being afraid or not knowing how to get rich; 3) do a good job in party style and discipline education focusing on improving party's political life and enhance the importance of organzation and discipline. Financial confusion is a prominent problem in Shaanxi's rural areas. The masses are most concerned and sensitive about this issue. It is imperative that financial confusion be cleared up during party rectification.

Responsible comrades of the provincial CPC committee emphasized that the key to doing a good job in rural party rectification is to strengthen leadership, especially the leadership of county CPC committees. The leading members of county and district CPC committees should be personally involved in party rectification. This is required by party rectification as well as the work of the party as a whole. It will help make a success of party rectification and accelerate the development of reform and economic construction. At present, rural party rectification should be focused on completing the work of party rectification in townships and towns. At the same time, vigorous and conscientious efforts should be made to carry out preparations for party rectification at the village level. All prefectural, city, and county CPC committees should carry out a general inspection and analysis of party rectification in townships and towns. They should have a clear idea of what has been done well and what has not and provide solutions, specific guidance, and concrete help in accordance with existing problems. Party rectification cannot be concluded unless prominent issues are resolved. Issues brought up during party rectification should be examined in accordance with the guidelines of the Zhengzhou Forum to see if those issues which should be resolved and handled are resolved and handled. Efforts should be stepped up to solve those issues which have not yet been resolved.

12302
CSO: 4005/862

LI XIANNIAN MOURNS DEATH OF NANJING PLA LEADER

OW160631 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 12 Sep 86

[Excerpts] With profound grief, some 500 people, including leaders of the Nanjing Military Region and Shanghai Municipality and celebrities from various circles, on 12 September paid their last respects to the remains of Comrade Zhou Chunlin, a loyal communist fighter of our party, outstanding communist, brilliant PLA commander, member of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee, and former deputy commander of the Nanjing Military Region. Comrade Zhou Chunlin died of illness in Shanghai on 2 September 1986 at the age of 74.

Wreaths were sent from party and government leaders, including Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Xu Xiangqian, Yang Shangkun, Yang Dezhi, Yu Qiuli, Ni Zhifu, Qin Jiwei, Chen Pixian, Wang Zhen, Wang Ping, Li Desheng, Chen Xilian, Huang Huoqing, Wei Guoqing, Peng Chong, Ye Fei, Liao Hansheng, Han Xianchu, Zhang Jingfu, Zhang Aiping, Hong Xuezhi, Yang Chengwu, Chen Zaidao, and Liu Jingji, as well as from Comrades Liu Bocheng, Huang Kecheng, and He Changgong. Wreaths were also sent from the Central Military Commission, the CPPCC National Committee, the CPC Central Committee's Organization Department, the PLA General Staff, Political, and Logistics Departments, the Nanjing Military Region, the Office of the Central Military Commission, and Shanghai Municipality and Jiangsu Province.

Amidst mourning music, leading comrades of the Nanjing Military Region and Shanghai Municipality Xiang Shouzhi, Fu Kuiqing, Shi Yuxiao, Jiang Zemin, Wu Bangguo, and Wang Daohan, as well as Comrade Zhou Chunlin's friends, paid their last respects to his remains and expressed sympathy to his widow (Deng Wenxiu) and children.

When Comrade Zhou Chunlin was gravely ill, President Li Xiannian sent people to visit him at the hospital. Party and government leaders Qin Jiwei, Wang Ping, Peng Chong, Liao Hansheng, Zhang Aiping, and Yang Chengwu, as well as officials from relevant departments, also visited him at the hospital.

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CSO: 4005/008

SHAANXI RADIO REPORTS ON LAOSHAN FRONTLINE

HK110255 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 10 Sep 86

[Feature by station reporter (Fan Mingsheng): "Justice Is on Our Side"]

[Excerpts] Laoshan, an ordinary mountain on China's southwest border, has been on the minds of millions of the motherland's people in recent years.

On 9 August, this reporter accompanied the comrades of the Shaanxi comfort group in climbing the 1,442.22 meter high main peak of Laoshan. The frontline commander told us that the Vietnamese aggressors have not given up their ambitions since they were chased out of the Laoshan area. They are still firing on China's territory every day. For instance, in the past four months, they have fired over 80,000 shells at us, blocking our roads and destroying vehicles and personnel. They also frequently dispatch units to harass and launch sneak attacks in the border areas; they plant mines and engaged in camouflaged reconnaissance. They really stop at no evil.

(Yang Xinyao), governor of Malipo County, where Loashan is situated, angrily told us that Vietnamese bullets and shells have killed or injured over 300 people of various nationalities in the county since 1979. They have also burned 10 villages with incendiary bombs. Some 13,000 mu of farmland along the border cannot be farmed due to the enemy artillery menace.

On 9 August, this reporter accompanied the comfort group in visiting the martyrs' mausoleum in Malipo County. It commemorates as many as 1,000 martyrs who sacrificed their lives in recovering Laoshan from the enemy. Twenty of them came from Shaanxi.

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CSO: 4005/008

SHANDONG GOVERNMENT HOLDS CONSCRIPTION WORK MEETING

SK040410 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 3 Sep 86

[Text] From 1 to 3 September, the provincial government and the provincial Military District jointly held a meeting to plan conscription work for this year. Attending and addressing the meeting were Cao Wansheng, Standing Committee member of the Provincial Party Committee and political commissar of the provincial Military District; Ma Lianli, provincial vice governor; and Liu Yude, commander of the provincial Military District.

The meeting pointed out: After carrying out structural reform, administrative streamlining, and reorganization, the army has set still higher demands on soldiers in terms of quality. Party committees, governments, and military service leading organs at all levels should strive to provide high-quality soldiers for the troops with the spirit of assuming responsibility for the national defense modernization drive.

In his speech, Vice Governor Ma Lianli fully affirmed the achievements scored by the province last year, and set some specific demands for achieving success in the conscription work of this year. First, we should regard the propagation and education on enlistment as an important item of building spiritual civilization, incorporate it into our overall plans, and conscientiously attend to this work. We should combine propagation and education on enlistment with education on popularizing legal knowledge in order to enhance all citizens' concepts of performing military service according to the law. We should also combine propagation and education on enlistment with the activity of vying with one another in creating civilized units in order to promote the fulfillment of the conscription task.

Second, we should regard the work of giving special care to disabled servicemen and family members of revolutionary martyrs and servicemen as an effective measure for achieving success in conscription work so that we can use policies to motivate youths of conscription age in signing up for military. All localities should conduct a conscientious inspection of the work of giving special care to disabled servicemen and family members of revolutionary martyrs and servicemen, and should discover and solve problems in a timely manner. In the course of doing this work, we should do penetrating and painstaking ideological and political work in order to form an

atmosphere in which one's serving in the army can be an honor for all of his family members.

Third, we should actually strengthen the leadership over conscription work and give full play to the function and role of various departments concerned in order to fulfill the conscription task with high standards and high quality.

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CSO: 4005/008

ZHEJIANG ENDS MEETING ON SETTLING PLA CADRES

OW030925 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 0900 GMT 28 Aug 86

[Text] The provincial conference of representatives of advanced units and individuals in placing demobilized army cadres concluded today. Chen Fawen, deputy secretary of the provincial party committee and head of the group for placing demobilized army cadres in the province, made a speech at the conference. He pointed out: Placing demobilized army cadres is a political task of great significance. Under the leadership of the Provincial Party Committee and the provincial government and with the vigorous support of PLA units and the relevant departments, the propaganda departments at all levels throughout the province have done a great deal of hard work and scored outstanding achievements in this connection. Over 55,000 demobilized army cadres have been transferred from other localities to work in various departments in the province since 1975 and made contributions to developing socialist modernization in Zhejiang and scoring new achievements for the people.

Chen Fawen pointed out: One of the important links in supporting army reform and army building is helping demobilized army cadres find civilian jobs. More than 6,200 demobilized army cadres will be transferred to work in Zhejiang this year. We must do a good job in helping them find civilian jobs.

The conference commended over 200 advanced units and individuals.

Attending the conference were Shen Zulun, vice governor and Standing Committee member of the Provincial Party Committee; Shen Guifang, Standing Committee member and head of the propaganda department of the Provincial Party Committee; and leading comrades of various PLA units.

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CSO: 4005/008

BRIEFS

ARMY CONSCRIPTION WORK MEETING CONCLUDED--A provincial armed forces conscription work conference concluded on 10 September. The meeting exchanged experiences in this work, discussed specific issues in making a success of the work this year, and presented commendation certificates to advanced units in last year's conscription work. Kong Zhaowen, member of the Standing Committee of the Provincial Party Committee and political commissar of Shaanxi Military District, attended the meeting on 10 September. Wang Xibin, commander of the Military District, delivered a summation. Vice Governor Zhang Bin also spoke. He said: This year's conscription work is about to start. The government at all levels must put this work on their agenda, seriously study it, and make all-round arrangements. In conjunction with popularizing knowledge of the law, the government at all levels and the military service organs must vigorously publicize the military service law. It is also necessary to do a good job of providing preferential treatment for the dependents of conscripts in order to ease their worries. He expressed the hope that young people of the right age would actively register their names for joining the armed forces to defend the motherland. In conclusion he demanded that the government at all levels and the military service organs seriously implement the conscription policies and ensure the quality of the work. [Text] [Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 10 Sep 86 HK] /12913

GUANGDONG CONFERENCE ON MILITIA WORK--From 29 August to 2 September, the provincial government and Guangdong Military District jointly held a provincial conference on milita work to discuss and look into the new situation and new problems since the people's armed forces departments were put under the control of localities. Attending the conference were Guo Rongchang, deputy secretary of the Provincial Party Committee; Vice Governor Yang Li; Zhang Juhui, commander of the Guangdong Military District; and Political Commissar Xiu Xianghui. In his speech, Guo Rongchang pointed out: The militia system is a traditional military system of our country. Militia building is an important aspect of building national defense. In particular, as our country is now concentrating its forces on carrying out socialist economic construction and as a large number of PLA units on active duty have been reduced, we must attach more importance to the building of national defense reserve forces. CPC committees and governments at all levels in the localities must firmly grasp militia reserve service work. [Text] [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 0900 GMT 2 Sep 86 HK] /12913

HARBIN CONSCRIPTION WORK CONFERENCE--The Heilongjiang provincial conscription work conference opened in Harbin City on 13 September. The conference will discuss the issue of how to improve the quality of enlisted army men under circumstances in which reforms in economic systems have been carried out and the PLA units have been streamlined or reorganized, and will make arrangements for the conscription work this year. The conference was presided over by Shao Zhao, commander of the provincial Military District. He Shoulun, vice governor of the provincial People's Government, was in attendance. [Text] Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 0900 GMT 13 Sep 86 SK] /12913

CSO: 4005/008

MAO ZEDONG'S MERITS, FAULTS ASSESSED

OW120841 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1215 GMT 8 Sep 86

[Excerpts] It has been 10 years since Comrade Mao Zedong's death. During this time, some historical issues have been clarified in the wake of bringing order out of chaos and correctly reassessing some historical issues and personages of the party, because some veteran comrades of our party and army have the courage to write about the truth of certain historical events. It is also under these circumstances that Mao Zedong's merits and errors have become more obvious.

Currently, propaganda departments of all units throughout the country are organizing a study of the new two volume edition of the selected works of Mao Zedong. From Comrade Mao Zedong's articles that are included in the new selected works, one can see that as long as the works are in line with Marxism-Leninism, they have played an active role in the cause of the Chinese revolution. However, those works that violate Marxism-Leninism have inflicted great damage on the party and the people.

Comrade Mao Zedong's early merits lay in his ability to employ well the collective wisdom of all the CPC members and to apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the actual situation of the Chinese revolution and in the fact that he, together with other veteran revolutionaries of our party, employed the Chinese people's experiences gained in long years of struggle. During the course of administering the country, Mao Zedong violated the principles of Marxism-Leninism and did things completely according to his own subjected will, thus making grave mistakes affecting the interests of the whole people and causing great misery for both the country and the people. In his later years, Mao Zedong vigorously promoted the disgusting personal cult of himself; more than 100 million people had been suppressed and persecuted since he started the autocratic rule.

If we want to build a China of tomorrow, we have to study the past and present of our party and country. In other words, we should not only borrow successful experiences rom the past, but also learn from lessons of past

failures so that we will not make the same mistakes again. For this purpose, we must correctly recognize the historical position of Comrade Mao Zedong and maintain a clear-cut stand on major historical issues of our party and army. We should make clear what we support and what we oppose, thus illustrating our correct Marxist attitude toward historical events and personages.

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CSO: 4005/004

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON LIN BIAO INCIDENT

OW161436 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1215 GMT 12 Sep 86

[Text] It has been 15 years since the world-shocking Lin Biao incident. The story of the incident, which was concocted by the gang of four, has been revised and supplemented throughout the years and has turned into a 100,000-odd character, thrilling detective novel. On the surface, this detective novel like the Lin Biao incident was just a personal tragedy of Lin Biao.

However, it actually involved the fate of tens of thousands of veteran cadres of our party and army which included six members of the Political Bureau; the chief of the General Staff; eight secretaries and deputy secretaries of provincial party committees; four deputy chiefs of the General Staff; the director of the General Logistics Department; the Air Force commander; the first political commissar of the PLA Navy; two deputy directors of the General Political Department; 11 commanders, deputy commanders, and political commissars from different services; 14 leaders of various military regions, and an uncertain number of military cadres in general.

Public opinions were often formed, based upon the occurrence of some historical events, by people blindly following each other's viewpoints without analyzing and taking into account thee facts of those events. The Lin Biao incident that occurred on 13 September 1971 is an obvious example of such cases.

According to many comrades who have written memoirs on the revolution, the exploits of Lin Biao and others are always involved when the history of our army is documented or some famous battles are recounted. Since they cannot be mentioned in the writings, something is missing when those memoirs are read. In addition, when writing memoirs, the authors have always felt that the charges against Lin Biao did not fit in with his life story.

Dedicating himself to the revolution when he was young, Lin Biao joined the party in 1926 and took part in the 1 August Nanchange uprising in 1927. He was appointed regimental commander in the Red Army at the age of 21 and army commander at the age of 24. At the age of 29, he was appointed commandant of the Red Army University. He became commander of the Northeastern Field Army in 1948, commander of the Fourth Field Army in 1949, member of the Political Bureau and vice chairman of the Military Commission in 1959, vice chairman of the CPC Central Committee in 1958, and minister of defense in 1959. Lin Biao

was chosen as the sole vice chairman and successor by the Ninth CPC Congress. Such founding members of our party and army as Lin Biao and other important military leaders at the time were suddenly turned into antiparty and antisocialist counterrevolutionaries and into carreerists and conspirators, while the gang of four became proletarian revolutionaries who were loyal to the party and Chairman Mao. The gang of four seemed to be well prepared. As soon as the 1 September incident occurred, they pulled out the so-called 10 crimes of Lin Biao and 12 political charges against him. The most ridiculous thing was that at first, the gang of four accused Lin Biao of being an extreme leftist. Later, they accused Lin Biao of being an extreme rightist, for fear that "left" might allude to themselves.

After the downfall of the gang of four, Lin Biao was again accused of being an extreme leftist, and his name and those of other implicated military leaders were intentionally juxtaposed with the gang of four. We have said over and over again that the Lin Biao incident is the largest frame-up case in history. After murdering the family of Lin Biao, the gang of four staged the farce of killing Lin Biao through a plane crash in Undur Khan in Mongolia. And it is not at all strange that the gang of four should fabricate all kinds of charges against Lin Biao, for they wanted to get rid of the leader of our army so that they could take over power. What is strange is that after the downfall of the gang of four, some people still believe the lie they were told was the truth. This runs counter to the principle of seeking truth from facts. For the interests of our party and army, we should solve the historical issue of the Lin Biao incident as soon as possible.

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CSO: 4005/009

IRREGULARITIES IN PARTY RECTIFICATION

OW040950 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1215 GMT 1 Sep 86

[Text] In the course of the ongoing party rectification, some excesses have been reported in many departments. Unhealthy practices have not been thoroughly eliminated, and some of them have actually become more rampant. What is the reason behind this?

The reason is that new restrictions have been imposed on party rectification, which actually provide shields for unhealthy practices. The higher-ups require that party rectification be integrated with reform. However, in the course of party rectification, with many party members and cadres found to have taken advantage of reform to seek private gains, the higher-ups hurriedly remind party rectification groups that only very few people criticize or violate existing policies, practice embezzlement, or give or accept bribes, claiming that these phenomena are side paths on the road of advance or nothing but tiny dust on a piece of jade.

In the course of party rectification, people have come to realize that some leaders, out of their intention to achieve fame and success and to please the higher-ups, have been deceived while cooperating with foreign firms in running enterprises, resulting in the failure of these enterprises. The people criticize them for squandering funds resulting in waste. But the higher-ups term this a fault in reform that should not be criticized.

At party rectification meetings, when people expose some leaders who, under the pretext of reform, use public funds to buy large amounts of luxury goods and distribute them among a handful of people, saying this is an embezzlement of public funds, the higher-ups argue that these are minor faults in reform which should not be quibbled about in the course of party rectification.

In this connection, the party paper has published a controversial article entitled: Party Rectification Should Not Be Quibbling About Faults in Reform. Thus, the unhealthy practices, which are the outgrowths of reform, remain unrectified.

The borers inside the party and the social pests keep this tendency in mind, and everywhere they go they do things prohibited by party discipline and state law under the pretext of making reform. When their misdeeds are exposed and become the target of criticism in the course of party rectification, they put

on a sad look and file a petition with the higher-ups, contending that they are the victims of retaliation because they dare to make reform. They are immediately redressed.

A case in point is that of the plant director of Jiangsu's (Yanghe) clique. In the course of party rectification, he was found to have embezzled funds, accepted bribes, engaged in wastefulness and extravagance, and suppressed workers. Later the higher-ups said that he dared to make reform and gave him only a slight reprimand. No wonder the masses and workers of government offices and mining and industrial enterprises say: With so many restrictions and prohibitions in party rectification, how can party rectification possibly go on?

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CSO: 4005/004

- END -

JPRS-CPS-86-080

21 OCTOBER 1986

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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JPRS-CPS-86-080
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HONG KONG

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FUZHOU HOLDS INTERNATIONAL PROPAGANDA MEETING

OW110519 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 6 Sep 86

[Text] The third national work meeting on televised reports for foreign countries concluded in Fuzhou on 6 September. The meeting, which opened on 1 September, reviewed and summed up the experience of international propaganda work through television over the past 2 years and proposed specific measures to improve and strengthen the work in view of the current realities. The meeting called for radio and television departments at all levels to strengthen leadership; attach great importance to international propaganda work through television; strengthen both domestic and international propaganda work; accelerate the training of specialized personnel in the field; unify planning and coordination; highlight the theme of each program; and promote information feedback. The meeting also called for improving program quality so that international propaganda through television can play a still better role in safeguarding world peace, reunifying the motherland, and promoting socialist modernization.

During the meeting, Yu Wen, deputy head of the International Propaganda Group of the CPC Central Committee, and Xie Wenqing, vice minister of Radio, Cinema, and Television, separately made reports. The meeting issued certificates of merit to units that produced outstanding television programs for foreign consumers in 1985.

/12858
CSO: 4005/007

BRIEFS

SOVIET SPOKESMAN ON DANILOFF CASE--Moscow, September 9 (XINHUA)--Washington should not make U.S.-Soviet ties the hostage of a relatively trivial incident like the Daniloff spy case, Soviet Government spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said today. Speaking at a press conference, Gerasimov hinted that Nicholas Daniloff, a Moscow-based American journalist arrested by Soviet police on spy charges, might be released if both countries take appropriate action. If the two countries work hard, a solution could be found on the basis of "reciprocity", Gerasimov said, without elaborating. The spokesman expressed the hope that the arrest of Daniloff will not hamper bilateral relations. Should someone in Washington want to cut U.S.-Soviet cultural exchange programs to punish the Soviet Union for holding Daniloff, they might then move to torpedo overall relations with the Soviet Union, Gerasimov said. Gerasimov was referring to speculation in Washington that punitive measures will be taken against Moscow if Daniloff is not released. [Excerpts] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0104 GMT 10 Sep 86 OW] /6662

UN UNDERSECRETARY GENERAL ON DISARMAMENT--Beijing, September 12 (XINHUA)--Jan Martenson, under secretary general for disarmament affairs of the United Nations, spoke to a Chinese audience here today on the world situation in disarmament and the U.N. efforts for promoting disarmament and ending the arms race in recent years. Martenson spoke highly of China's efforts in reducing its troops and turning its military facilities to civilian use. Martenson is here as guest of the Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0941 GMT 12 Sep 86 OW] /6662

CSO: 4000/010

PRC PAPER VIEWS USSR WRITER'S CONGRESS

HK110453 Beijing WENYI BAO in Chinese 2 Aug 86 p 1

[Commentary by contributing reporter Zhang Jie [1728 2212]: "A Grand Meeting in a 'Turning Stage'--roundup of the Eighth Congress of Soviet Writers"]

[Text] The USSR Union of Writers with nearly 10,000 members held its Eighth Congress in late June. The recent meeting was convened at a time when a 'turning point' of reform in all fields of Soviet social life has begun. Therefore, how literature should fit into the new situation of reform, and how it should make contributions to reform became the theme of the meeting.

Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, met some of the writers on the eve of the opening of the Congress, and stressed once again the important role of literature in the current reform, calling on literary writing to "reveal the present conflicts and real contradictions," and to reflect the fierce struggles in reform. He required the writers to apply more fully the democratic principles of the socialist system, conduct criticism and self-criticism, and bring things in the open on a wide scale, overcoming all rigid phenomena in all social organizations, including all unions of creative arts." These words practically set the key tone of the congress.

The recent congress had the following characteristics. First, compared with past congresses, the sum-up report delivered by (Markov) [Maerkefu 7456 1422 4430 1133] could be called "low-keyed." It dealt with concrete matters relating to work. Although he affirmed the accomplishments scored in literature in recent years, many shortcomings, mistakes and real contradictions were pointed out, and an all-around examination made of writing conditions, work of the union of writers, and literary critique, and some measures for improvement proposed, in order that literature might well accept the "challenge of the times." The practice of being bold in looking straight at the facts, and telling the truth has in itself displayed the spirit of reform. This can be seen as an expression of self-confidence.

Second, the recent congress was rather active and lively. Just as the poet Yevtushenko put it, it was carried on in a "free and genuinely

democratic atmosphere." The delegates spoke without restraint, aired their views boldly, and conducted criticism by name. For example, the work of a famous writer was criticized by name at the congress. Who up to then no one had dared criticize, further, the improper practices in the reelection of the secretariat of the largest organization of writers, the Moscow Union of Writers, and the election of delegates to the congress was openly revealed. The speeches delivered at the recent congress were not conducted in the usual way of reading item by item from manuscripts, but in "concrete and heated debate," with different views contested. The whole atmosphere was harmonious and healthy. On certain specific questions (for example, the evaluation of the present conditions of Soviet literature and positive characteristics,) the differences between writers seemed to be very great, but their general goals and their attitude on some basic issues was unanimous. They all believe that the main task at present is to "make the development of literature and the scope of reform under way at home compatible with each other" they said that they would "always be loyal to the principle of writing by using realism in expressing life."

Under the situation of reform, the writers urgently required an "essential change" in the work of the Union of Writers. At the recent congress, many delegations made sharp criticism on the "bad bureaucratic practices" of the Union of Writers. Novelist Granin pointed out, the leading organ of the Union of Writers had become some kind of "government organ," "lost its initiative," and was busy with their routine work without paying attention to writing. Novelist Zalygin believes that, the literary circles should not put everything too rigidly under control, going in for the so-called "centralization," which will inevitably lead to the oppression of some writers by other writers." Many people proposed to abolish life tenure in leading posts, and to genuinely carry out democratic elections, with those famous writers free from "bureaucratism" elected to the leading posts. We should say that the recent congress was a good beginning in this respect. Democracy was brought forward in an election, a reshuffle was realized in the leading body, the original first secretary (Markov) [Maerkefu 7456 1422 4430 1133] has been appointed Chairman of the Union of Writers, while (Karpov) [Kaerbofu 0595 1422 3134 1133] has been appointed first secretary. The other six secretaries of the standing committee are all writers with very good reputations.

How to improve and strengthen literary criticism was one of the main topics of the recent congress. As is known to all, the Soviet leadership has all along attached great importance to literary and art criticism, regarding it as a chief means to exert some influence on writing. But in recent years, literary critiques have not played their due role, therefore, it has been subjected to severe criticism by the Soviet leadership. However, there are problems as well as difficulties in literary criticism. No wonder the critic (Kuzniezhov) [Kuzineizuofu 1655 3320 3206 1133] complained that the critics are at present in "a state of humiliation." The recent congress on the one hand, revealed the shortcomings in literary criticism and on the other hand, repeatedly stressed its significance, noting that the reform of literary criticism itself will determine "the

ideological quality and the future of literature." It was decided to adopt specific measures to improve the quality of critics, and to raise their social status and treatment. The Gorkiy Institute of Literature has decided to set up a faculty of literary criticism in order to develop qualified people in this field.

A question much talked about was the difficulty in getting books published. The poet Voznesensky said with some exaggeration: "Sometimes a writer will spend one-tenth of his lifetime writing, while nine-tenths of his lifetime will be spent on trying to get his works published." The reasons for the difficulties in getting books published are manifold; one of which is too many literary works are written but there is not enough publishing capacity. Regarding poetry alone, around 5,000 volumes of manuscripts are ready for print on an annual basis, with only 2,500 of them published. Some people are taking advantage of their power in their posts and publish their own books in large volume, which makes the contradictions all the more acute. Then there are bad practices in the censorship system. Those mediocre works are more easily passed, while excessive nitpicking is done on those works with originality. Hence, the strange phenomenon of "the reading public complaining about too many books of low quality, while the writers are complaining about the difficulties in getting books published." When the writers cited the above-mentioned problems, they also proposed what is necessary to reform the existing censorship system.

Worthy of note was the fact that some delegates proposed the reprinting of some forbidden books. Those who are familiar with the history of Soviet literature know that after the October Revolution, a number of famous writers adopted an antagonistic or non-cooperative attitude toward the Soviet regime, and some of them were even exiled abroad. Later, some writers were under repudiated for various reasons. Their works are banned and are not allowed to be reprinted in the Soviet Union, but are very popular in the West. Therefore, Director Likhachev said in his speech, the results of literature in the early 20th century should not all be "sent to the West," but that works of such writers as Andrey Bely, Fyodor Sology, (Lemizhov) [Liemizuofu 0411 4717 1563 1133] and (Melezhkovsky) [Meilierifefusiji 2734 0441 2480 1133 2448 1015] should be published selectively. Many people suggested publishing the complete works of Pasternak, who had been repudiated for his book "Dr Zhivago." Voznesensky proposed that the repudiation of (Ahmatova) [Ahetuowa 7093 4378 2094 1216] and (Zocsenko) [Zuogingke 1563 3830 4430] in the 1946 Soviet Communist Party (Bolshevik) Revolution should be corrected as should the error in the evaluation of the opera "The Great Friendship." These suggestions expressed the hope of some writers for further relaxation in literature and art policy.

Looking at the speeches in the congress, the attention of the delegates seemed to have focused on the various aspects mentioned above, while no earnest and in-depth discussion unfolded on a series of theoretical and practical problems in literary creation which have been in endless dispute, such as the theory on socialist realism; the issue of positive characters;

the truthfulness and modern nature of literature; the method of assumption and recording of actual events. This can be said to be regretful.

The recent congress has broken the dullness of Soviet literary cricles, and brought hope to those who want to change the present conditions. However, others have expressed their worries: "Will everything remain the same as soon as the congress concludes"? Perhaps such worries are not superfluous, but the development of the situation, the delicate changes in literature and art policy, and all signs shown by the contingent of writers demonstrates that this congress, called the "turning stage," may become a turning point, and marked changes may take place in literary circles after the congress. At the same time, we can expect that the struggles between different ideologies are inevitable and can be very intense at times.

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CSO: 4005/007

LIAOWANG ON USSR'S CHANGING MIDDLE-EAST POLICY

HK090717 Hong Kong LIAOWANG OVERSEAS EDITION in Chinese No 35, 1 Sep 86 p 25

[Article by Wang Lianzhi [3769 6647 1807]: "Readjustment of Soviet Policy Toward the Middle East as Seen from the Soviet-Israeli Talks"]

[Text] Soviet and Israeli diplomatic officials held the first round of formal talks on the consular issue in Helsinki on 18 August. This was the first open, official contact after a 19-year hiatus in diplomatic relations since the 1967 Middle East war. Thus the close attention of international society.

The talk was held on the initiative of the Soviet Union, with the active response of Israel. The talks, which were scheduled to last 2 days, broke up abruptly after 30 minutes.

Despite the fact that the meeting resulted in nothing, Israeli officials found it "satisfactory" to eventually recover official contacts with the Soviet Union, and believed that the meeting was an initial step to realizing the normalization of the diplomatic relations between the two countries and that the recent meeting was "by no means a failure." The Soviet representatives also said that the meeting was "truth-seeking and constructive." However, in a 19 August statement by a Soviet official spokesman, the meeting was said to have "led into a dead alley" "without reaching any accord"; hence, it was a "failure." He also reproached the Israeli representatives for "roughly intervening in Soviet internal affairs" by raising the issue of Soviet Jews. In analyzing the inconsistent Soviet positions, some Middle East experts pointed out that the fact that the Soviets first agreed to hold talks was a posture to the Israelis, then they shortened the talks to make a posture to the Arabs. In fact, the Soviets attempted to benefit from both sides.

In the 19-year hiatus in Soviet-Israeli diplomatic relations, both sides have all along maintained private contacts through various channels, and probes have been made on several occasions for the normalization of diplomatic relations. However, the Soviets did not dare to act rashly because of the strong reactions of some Arab countries. The Arab world has been largely cautious and moderate in its response to the recent visit

of Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres to Morocco. At the same time, such East European countries as Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria have been expanding their relations with Israel. The Soviet Union took the opportunity to hold talks on the consular issue with Israel in order to pave the way for restoring normal diplomatic relations. This incident demonstrates the initiatives and flexibility of Soviet diplomatic trends in the Middle East.

Another reason for the Soviet Union to readjust its relations with Israel is the fact that it has for years advocated calling an international conference on the Middle East issue to seek a comprehensive solution to the Arabic-Israeli conflict. However, because of the resolute opposition of the United States and Israel, the Soviet wish did not come true. But since early autumn 1985, Israel has relaxed its position on this issue. Peres has on several occasions said that so long as normal diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel are restored, Israel will accept Soviet participation in the international conference on Middle East peace. The Soviet Union is hoping to normalize diplomatic relations with Israel in order to have a greater right to speak on the Middle East issue.

Improving relations with Israel is just one Soviet step in adjusting its Middle East policy, and it will inevitably be conditioned by the Soviets' overall interest in the Middle East, especially its relations with the Arabs. People have begun to notice that since the beginning of this year, with the U.S. bombardment of Libya serving to widen the gap between the United States and some Arab countries in particular, the Soviet Union has stepped up and set in order its diplomacy in the Middle East; it is very active, and has been manifested as follows:

It has continued to consolidate its relations with Syria and Libya, providing Libya with more advanced guided missiles and airplanes and helping it to recover its defense capability.

It has focused on doing work among moderate Arabic states, expanding its influence in the Arab world. The Soviet Union has frequently sent people to visit Egypt and Arab countries in the Gulf and North African region, and established diplomatic relations with the Sultanate of Oman. The Soviet Union has paid particular attention to taking advantage of its opponent's weak points, satisfying the actual needs of the Arab countries. When the United States indefinitely postponed military aid to Jordan, the Soviet Union reached an accord with Jordan on selling it arms. When the United States cancelled its sale of air-defense guided missiles to Saudi Arabia, the Soviet Union actively expressed willingness to provide Saudi Arabia with SAM-7's.

On Lebanon, the Soviet Union has changed its usual attitude and agreed to postpone the deadline of UN troops stationed in Lebanon. When the U.S. Congress decided to reduce financial aid for these troops, the Soviet Union declared that it would provide financial aid and hinted that it would send Warsaw Pact troops to participate in the stationing; as a result, the United States had to change its attitude. The Soviet Union has also

focused on establishing ties with all sects in Lebanon, Christian sects in particular, and even expressed willingness to act as a mediator in resolving the contradictions between antagonistic sects in Lebanon.

The Soviet Union has changed its attitude of criticizing the PLO with 'Arafat as the mainstream. Gorbachev personally met 'Arafat in the FRG. The Soviet Union received PLO Political Department Director Quaddumi. With Soviet help, Fatah, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Palestine Communist Party, the Palestine Liberation Front, and the Arab Liberation Front consecutively held conferences in Tunis and Moscow respectively between late July and early August, and important progress was made in restoring unity to the PLO. Having the PLO card in hand, is obviously favorable for the Soviet Union in expanding its influence in the Middle East.

Greater flexibility in handling Middle East affairs is an important component of the overall readjustment of Soviet foreign policy since Gorbachev came into office. The Soviet Union has always regarded the Middle East as a strategic interest. However, since the end of the Middle East war in October 1973, the United States has gradually repelled the Soviet Union from the Middle East peace process through secret diplomacy. Soviet aggression in Afghanistan has especially worsened relations with the Islamic world, with Soviet influence in the Middle East going from bad to worse--hence, its inferior position in contending with the United States. The new Soviet leader has made an overall examination of Soviet foreign policies. Gorbachev criticized Soviet practice in the Middle East for "being too rigid," believing that "the Soviets can achieve whatever the Americans are capable of doing." He also stressed that "the Soviet Union should play a legitimate role in the Middle East. Without the participation of the Soviet Union, no peace action in the region will be successful."

The Soviet readjustment of its Middle East policy and the progress made have aroused U.S. vigilance. As disclosed by U.S. officials, the Department of State and the National Security Council are studying the Middle East situation in order to determine a way in which the United States can play a more active role in the region. Secretary of State Shultz has taken into consideration a plan to visit the Middle East. President Reagan is trying to arrange for a summit between Israel, Egypt, and Jordan in Washington in September [sic]. Superpower competition over the Middle East is intensifying once again.

/9604
CSO: 4005/51

NAKASONE DISCUSSES DATE FOR GORBACHEV VISIT

OW281816 Beijing XINHUA in English 1802 GMT 28 Aug 86

[Excerpt] Tokyo, August 28 (XINHUA)--Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone said today that the date for a visit to Japan by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is likely to be settled in September, the KYODO NEWS SERVICE reported.

Nakasone, speaking at the summer resort of Karuizawa, in Nagano Prefecture, southwest of Tokyo, was quoted by KYODO as saying that he hopes to meet Gorbachev in Tokyo next January.

The prime minister said Japanese Foreign Minister Tadashi Kuranari and his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze will discuss the exact schedule of the visit when they meet at the United Nations General Assembly next month.

Meanwhile, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mikhail Kapitsa and Foreign Minister Kuranari agreed during a meeting this morning that their countries should try to make Gorbachev's visit "yield positive results," Foreign Ministry officials said.

Kuranari said Japan will not adopt a policy of separating politics and economics in various negotiations between the two countries.

The Japanese foreign minister was referring to Japan's stance that it has no plans to improve economic relations with the Soviet Union by ignoring the territorial dispute over the four small islands off Japan's northernmost island of Hokkaido, the officials said. The islands have been occupied by the Soviet Union since the end of World War II.

Kuranari also made a veiled criticism of Moscow's recent unilateral extension of its moratorium on testing nuclear weapons, saying that finding ways to realistically eliminate nuclear weapons should not remain merely an exercise in words.

/6662
CSO: 4000/4

VODK COMMENTS ON HARARE NONALIGNED SUMMIT

OW291320 Beijing XINHUA in English 1124 GMT 29 Aug 86

[Excerpts] Beijing, August 29 (XINHUA)--The Kampuchean people hope the Non-aligned Movement will continue to play a role in protecting the interests of small and medium countries, said a commentary broadcast by Radio Democratic Kampuchea today.

The commentary said that the seat of Democratic Kampuchea, a founding member of the movement, has been made empty in the movement since its sixth summit meeting in Havana in 1979.

As the host and chairman of the Sixth Non-aligned Summit, Cuba had insisted that the Hanoi-backed Heng Samrin regime should take the Kampuchean seat at the summit, a view which most of the other member countries strongly opposed.

Due to the summit chairman's violation of the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation, it said, the seat of Democratic Kampuchea has since then remained vacant in the Non-aligned Movement.

The Kampuchean people, the radio said, hope the issue will reach a conclusion at the Eighth Non-aligned Summit to be held in Harare, capital of Zimbabwe, on September 1.

Though the country has suffered from the Vietnamese aggression, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK), based on its eight-point proposal, has continually sought a political means to ending the Kampuchea problem.

The proposal, unveiled by CGDK on March 17, 1986, calls for a two-phase military pullout by Vietnam from Kampuchea and the formation of a four-party coalition government, including the Hanoi-installed Heng Samrin regime. Hanoi has rejected the proposal.

6662
CSO: 4000/3

BRIEFS

INDIA DENIES BUILDING NUCLEAR ARMS--New Delhi, August 30 (XINHUA)--Top officials of the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) denied charges that India had obtained heavy water to run its three latest reactors for the building of nuclear weapons. The officials told newsmen here on Friday that because of some technical reasons the country was importing "some quantity" of heavy water from the Soviet Union, "but this is being done under an open agreement following the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)." According to a study done by Gary Milholin, a U.S. nuclear energy expert, India is secretly building its nuclear weapon-making capability, while illegally diverting heavy water from its safeguarded reactors. The study was published in the latest issue of FOREIGN POLICY. [Excerpt] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0946 GMT 30 Aug 86 OW] /6662

CSO: 400/5

XINHUA REVIEWS CHIRAC'S SOUTH PACIFIC VISIT

OW011401 Beijing XINHUA in English 1116 GMT 1 Sep 86

["Roundup: Chirac Winds up South Pacific Visit (by Wang Wei)"--XINHUA headline]

[Excerpts] Paris, September 1 (XINHUA)--French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac winds up his four-day visit to French South Pacific colonies today, after examining cautiously the issue of New Caledonia's independence and reasserting the French presence in the region.

Chirac, who visited New Caledonia, French Polynesia, Wallis and Futuna, was on his first tour of the French overseas territories since taking office in March. One of his main concerns was New Caledonia, where a referendum on its fate will be held next year.

Chirac's visit came at a time when pressure is mounting from South Pacific countries for France to grant independence to New Caledonia and remove its military presence from the region, including halting its controversial nuclear tests.

Last month, a "South Pacific Forum" conference of senior officials from France's traditional partners of Australia and New Zealand as well as 11 other Pacific island countries expressed support for New Caledonia and asked that the United Nations include the islands on its decolonization list.

During his current South Pacific visit, Chirac said he was preoccupied by Australia's attitude towards France. The desire to create a situation leading to French retirement from the region will do Australia no good, especially at the moment when the Soviet Union becomes interested in the region, he said.

Chirac stressed that France is in the same camp as Australia and New Zealand and that the European nation will maintain its presence in the South Pacific.

The French prime minister, while avoiding the issue of nuclear testing, said his country will not use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon countries, unless attacked by such countries that have nuclear-armed allies. He also expressed France's willingness to enter into talks with South Pacific countries on topics including disarmament.
/6662
CSO: 4000/6

LI PENG ON DEVELOPING VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

OW010446 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1122 GMT 29 Aug 86

[Excerpts] Beijing, 29 Aug (XINHUA)--An article by Comrade Li Peng carried in ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO [China Education] published on 30 August points out: Currently, the foundation of vocational and technical education in the country as a whole is still quite weak; in many rural areas vocational and technical education is non-existent. Therefore, during the Seventh 5-Year Plan, we should still regard the development of vocational and technical education as our principal task. As for certain provincial cities and areas where vocational and technical education has developed well, it may be readjusted in some key fields and further improved.

Entitled "Making Great Efforts To Develop Vocational and Technical Education Is the Important Content of Educational Reform," the article states: The purpose of such education is to train millions of junior and senior technicians, managers, skilled workers and other members of the labor force in urban and rural areas. Such education will enable more people to study and master advanced equipment, techniques and management and play a special important role in promoting China's four modernizations. The article points out: In any country, ordinary workers, junior and senior technicians, and managers are the majority operatives in industry, agriculture and tertiary industry, and are the main part of the population and principal creators of materials and property. It goes without saying that talented persons are very important. They make a decisive impact on a country's science and technology and even economic and cultural development. Considering the number of talented persons, however, they are the minority. This is particulary so in a developing country like China. This determines the important position and role of vocational and technical education.

The article says: China's vocational and technical education has developed rapidly over the past few years. A number of good vocational and technical schools have been established in some areas. The proportion of vocational and technical school students in the total number of senior middle school students rose from 5 percent in the period after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee to 18.8 percent in 1980, and reached 36 percent last year. In a number of municipalities and provinces--such as Beijing and Shanghai, Liaoning, Shandong and Jiangsu--the proportion has even

exceeded more than 60 percent. Vocational and technical education, however, is developing unevenly in the country. It is developing rapidly in a few areas, but in many areas its development is insufficient. Particularly in rural areas its development is very slow. A number of provinces and regions where the economy is not well developed have paid little attention to vocational and technical education. This has badly hurt local economic development. Therefore, leading comrades at various levels should pay full attention to developing various types of vocational and technical education, especially in the rural areas.

The article believes that it is necessary to adhere to the principle of pre-employment training so as to develop vocational and technical education. The article says: This principle is an important measure to enable the educational structural reform and the reform of the labor and personnel system to supplement each other to form a complete system, and its fundamental purpose is to raise worker quality by forcing workers to receive certain pre-employment training in politics, culture and techniques. Therefore, education and labor departments and industrial sectors must stick to this principle laid down by the central authorities. Of course, we should not demand uniformity in everything while implementing this principle. We must not act or think in terms of absolutes. Differences should be made in accordance with different trades and types of work. The article points out: During the process of implementing the principle of pre-employment training, we often encounter the problem of not knowing whether the hiring units and labor departments have given priority to hiring the graduates of various vocational and technical schools. Generally speaking, if the graduates' special training matches the job requirements, and if they are qualified, they should be hired first because they have received fairly systematic training. The hiring units and the labor departments should make sure that this guideline is followed. Of course, an employment priority does not mean that a job will be guaranteed. This requires that our schools produce competent graduates. Incompetent students and students of poor conduct will not enjoy employment priority, nor will those whose training does not match job requirements.

The article also touches on the question of training vocational and technical school teachers through multiple channels. The article says: Comparatively speaking, technical secondary schools and technician schools have more qualified teachers, while vocational senior middle schools and vocational training centers at various levels lack qualified teachers. This is the heart of the matter which affects the quality of teaching today. This problem can only be resolved through various channels. The article points out: The State Education Commission and all provincial and municipal educational administrative departments should work earnestly over the next 3 to 5 years to build a large continent of vocational and technical school teachers.

/12858
CSO: 4005/007

SHAANXI RIBAO ON EDUCATION IN REFORM

HK310806 Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 9 Aug 86 p 2

[Article by Mao Shengxian [3029 3932 6897]: "In the Rural Areas It Is Necessary To Carry Out In-Depth Ideological Education in Reforms and in Developing the Commodity Economy"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Excerpts] The current situation in the rural areas is very good. The large number of cadres and masses enthusiastically support and energetically implement the CPC Central Committee's principles and policies on rural work, and great achievements have been made in this respect. Reforms and the policy of opening up to the world and enlivening the domestic economy have raised the curtain on the transition in the rural areas from the self-supporting economy to the commodity economy and from traditional agriculture to modern agriculture. The people keep forging ahead toward the future and their mental outlook has taken on a new aspect. In our forward march, we should develop this good situation and spare no efforts in carrying out the second step of reforms in the rural areas so as to bring the great social reform in the rural areas to an entirely new stage.

In line with the CPC Central Committee's guiding principle that ideological and political work in the new period should cater to the party's general tasks and general targets, the general task in ideological and political work in the rural areas in the present period is to mobilize and educate party members, cadres, and masses in the rural areasto unite as one and work hard to change the backward economic and cultural situation in the rural areas, to become better off, and to build socialist new rural areas with a high degree of material and spiritual civilizations. The key to fulfilling this general task is to carry out ideological education in reforms and in developing the commodity economy, on the basis of which education in policies, ideals, discipline, democracy, the legal system, morality, conduct, party spirit, party style, and party discipline should be given to the masses and party members.

Why is it necessary to stress the importance of carrying out education in reforms and in developing the commodity economy? The first reason is that the rural masses urgently want to change their backward situation. To achieve this end, the proper way is to reform the rural economic structure, management system, and production technology, to develop the production of

socialist commodities, and to realize a high degree of socialization and modernization in production. Therefore, like other work, ideological and political work in the rural areas should be suited to the development of the commodity economy. The second reason is that our cadres and masses still lack the knowledge of the commodity economy and that the mentality of the small-peasant economy is still deep-rooted. Without carrying out education in developing the commodity economy, our cadres and masses will not be able to free themselves from the binds of the traditional mentality and to become masters in developing the commodity economy. The third reason is that in ideological and political work in the rural areas, ideological education in developing the commodity economy has not been placed in a proper position. If this is not changed, ideological and political work will fall behind the development of the new situation.

/First, while carrying out in-depth ideological education in reforms and in developing the commodity economy, it is necessary to conscientiously study and extensively propagate the basic knowledge and basic policy concerning the commodity economy and to enable cadres and the masses to gradually form a commodity economic mentality and to familiarize themselves with the law governing the operation of the commodity economy./

It is necessary to encourage cadres and the masses to familiarize themselves with the following basic viewpoints:

--The full development of the commodity economy is a necessary phase in the development of the social economy. Developing the commodity economy is the only way to realizing a high degree of socialization and modernization in production as well as to rapidly developing the social productive forces. As the socialist commodity economy is a planned commodity economy under public ownership, it is fundamentally different from the capitalist commodity economy. In this connection, it is necessary to enhance our understanding of the necessity and importance of developing the commodity economy and to dispel some people's misgivings concerning its development.

--The commodity economy requires a high degree of socialization and specialization in production. For this reason, it is necessary to bring into full play the strong points of local resources and labor force; to carry out the overall development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, and fishery; to develop rural industry, commerce, service trades, transportation, and building industry; to open up all avenues for production; and to change the single-product economy so as to allow the rural economy to thrive and to increase the peasants' income.

Propagating, studying, and mastering these basic viewpoints on the commodity economy is not only a theoretical problem but also an urgent practical problem. Therefore, we should put this education on the agenda, make detailed arrangements for it, compile systematic teaching materials, and organize people in various fields so that this education is carried out in a planned way. In line with the practice of reforms, leaders at various levels should take the lead in studying the theory of the socialist

commodity economy and improve their understanding of and leadership over the work of developing the commodity economy. This education should be carried out in various production activities, in the teaching activities of party and cadre schools, in the theoretical study of cadres, in the training of basic-level cadres, in the popularization of science and technology, in the consolidation campaign of enterprises, in the activities of party, youth league, and mass organizations, in press propaganda, and in various cultural activities of the masses so that it becomes an important process of restudy by the entire people. It is necessary to combine this education with the practice of reforms and with the implementation of the party's principles and policies on rural work, so that we can achieve actual results in guiding and promoting work in the present period.

/Second, it is necessary to educate rural cadres and masses to break away from the traditional mentality of the small-peasant economy, to get rid of their mental burden, and to boldly develop the commodity economy./

The process of rural cadres and masses accepting the concept of the commodity economy is also the process of their breaking away from the mentality of the small-peasant economy. This is a profound revolution in the ideological sphere in the rural areas and is a key issue of educating the peasants in the new period. Although the mentality of the small-peasant economy does not hold sway in the ideological sphere in the rural areas, its negative influence's still permeating our work in various fields.

Obviously, the mentality of the small-peasant economy is a big obstacle to the development of the commodity economy as well as to scientific and technological progress. To speedily develop the commodity economy, it is necessary to eradicate the mentality of the small-peasant economy, and this should be taken as an important strategic task in our ideological work. Of course, we should not be overanxious for quick results in this connection. We should not hope that this mentality, which has remained in people's minds for several thousand years, can be eliminated in one morning, still less should we use the simple and rough method of mass criticism to solve this problem. Thecorrect method is to establish the new and destroy the old, to extensively propagate the knowledge of the commodity economy, to popularize the historical experience in foreign and domestic economic and cultural development, and to improve the people's ideological level. In addition, contradictions should not be evaded and the method of reasoning should be used to analyze the backwardness and harm of the mentality of the small-peasant economy so as to encourage people to break away from traditional concepts. What is more important is to introduce actual examples of developing commodity production and to guide the peasants household by household in developing the commodity economy and commodity production so that they will increase their knowledge in the course of practice.

/Third, we should guide rural cadres and masses in holding firm to a correct political orientation and should bring into full play the role of socialist spiritual civilization in ensuring and promoting the development of the commodity economy./

The development of the commodity economy is an indispensable condition for carrying out socialist modernization, and socialist spiritual civilization is an indispensable guarantee for developing the commodity economy. The extensive development of the socialist commodity economy will also give rise to certain blindness in the economic field. Some people who are influenced by the ideology of the exploiting class will take advantage of the relationship between commodities and money to engage in speculation, racketeering, and smuggling, thus harming public interests and the planned socialist economy as well as fostering capitalist factors. To prevent the emergence of these negative phenomena in the commodity economy, not only is it necessary to work out correct policies and measures and to exercise planned regulation, administration, and management, but it is also important to educate the masses to resist all errneous tendencies so as to pave the way for the healthy development of the commodity economy. We should persist in reforms and criticize and correct mistakes. This is a correct attitude. Thinking that mistakes in reforms should not be examined and corrected is not really supporting reforms but diverting reforms to some other channels.

The first point is to educate cadres and the masses to adhere to socialist principles and correct methods in developing the commodity economy.

The second point is to educate cadres and the masses to enhance their patriotic and collective spirit and to correctly handle the relationship of interests between the state, the collective, and the individual. Bearing in mind overall and long-term interests, cadres and the masses should conscientiously implement state policies and decrees, should not seek personal gain at the expense of state and collective interests, and should oppose all activities violating law and discipline. By protecting state and collective interests, they will protect their greatest interests. In the relationship between people, we advocate the idea of allowing some people to become better off ahead of others, of encouraging the better off to help the poor, and of finally achieving the target of common prosperity. We encourage competition in the commodity economy but are opposed to capitalist practices such as deception, fraud, speculation, and racketeering. We should persist in the principle of more pay for more work and in the meantime advocate the communist spirit of not being particular about pay and of taking pride in helping others and in vying for more contributions. This new type of relationship serves as an indispensable spiritual pillar in developing the commodity economy.

The third point is to educate cadres and the masses to develop morality and good conduct in society so as to create an excellent environment for reform and development of the commodity economy. The main aspect of social morality and conduct in the rural areas is good, and cadres and the masses are busy with reforms and are working hard to become better off. A new and dynamic atmosphere has taken shape. However, some problems have also arisen and become obstacles to rural reforms and the development of the commodity economy. Theft and destruction are very serious in some localities, either state, collective, and private property being stolen or forests, irrigation projects, power stations, broadcasting stations,

and telephone facilities being destroyed. This still remains unresolved. Gambling is rampant in some parts of the rural areas both during busy and slack seasons. Not only the masses but cadres also gamble. Feudal superstition prevails in some rural areas, where people keep building temples and worshiping ghosts and deities and witches and wizards are deceiving people. Some reactionary religious organizations are resuming their activities. In some localities, disputes over civic affairs are becoming serious, and fights frequently occur. Some people are in the habit of occupying others' farmland. They have formed clan associations and elected their heads. This has given rise to clan conflicts. Ugly phenomena of the old society such as prostitution and child abduction have also emerged. All these have affected the excellent social morality in the rural areas and normal social order.

The emergence of these pehnomena has been due to a lack of strict management. By strict management, we mean that we should carry out education in "four have's." In particular, we should educate young people well so as to improve their ideological consciousness. We should do a good job in building civilized towns and villages, "five good" families, and households with the two civilizations, commend the advanced, help the backward, correct the evil, and develop fine habits. What is of particular importance is to strengthen basic-level organizations, provide good training to basic-level cadres, and bring into better play the management role of basic-level organizations. It is necessary to educate, support, and supervise basic-level cadres in such a way that they exert their revolutionary spirit, adhere to the party line, principles and policy, observe party discipline and state law, and are bold in fighting all unhealthy practices and in cracking down on and forbidding theft, gambling, feudal superstition, and all other ugly phenomena ruining the general mood of society. This will help bring about a turn for the better in social habits. With strict control, evil practices will diminish; without control, they will become more serious. This is a truth and an important experience to be remembered.

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CSO: 4005/51

INCREASE IN NUMBER OF ILLEGAL DETENTIONS

HK170837 Hong Kong AFP in English 0734 GMT 17 Sep 86

[Text] Beijing, 17 Sep (AFP)--The number of reported illegal detentions in China almost doubled in the first six months of 1986, during which 140 prisoners were killed or injured, an official newspaper received here Wednesday said.

Police and local cadres, abusing their official powers, were responsible for a large portion of the reported illegal detentions, which increased 96.5 percent in the first half of 1986 compared to reports for the preceding six months, the CHINA LEGAL NEWS said Tuesday.

"Most of these cases were committed by several people together. They used particularly cruel and vile methods, generally with a serious result," the newspaper said, citing information from "the departments concerned."

Of the 949 people illegally detained, 140 were killed or injured, the report said, but gave no details on how the casualties occurred. Analysts said that, based on recent Chinese press reports, torture was likely to have been used in many of the cases. The report said that the number of illegal detentions had been increasing steadily in recent years.

Abuses of power resulting in unauthorized detentions were on the rise because those responsible were frequently let off with light punishments while the general population did not know that their methods were illegal, the report added.

Analysts said the increase was also likely to reflect improved reporting practices and greater attention to the rule of law.

CHINA LEGAL NEWS said the illegal detentions fell into three groups, those carried out by local cadres, those carried out by police, and those carried out by individuals involved in civil or economic disputes.

Some cases of the latter type resulted when one partner to a business dispute detained the other as a hostage, forcing family members to pay off debts in order to gain the victim's release.

In other cases people detained others at will, simply relying on their own family's force, the report said.

Legal departments attempting to deal with such cases were hindered by protective friends and relations of offenders with the results that investigations were slow and punishments light, the report added.

It concluded by calling for various courts and inspection organs to increase their efforts in handling such cases.

The report, said by observers to be the most frank on the problem yet released in the official press, follows a series of reports on specific incidents in the Chinese press.

The PEOPLE'S DAILY on Monday said that a member of the National People's Congress had been arrested for detaining 72 people and torturing 17 he suspected of stealing part of his bicycle bell.

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CSO: 4000/007

REGULATIONS ON OFFENSES AGAINST PUBLIC ORDER

OW091401 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1145 GMT 5 Sep 86

[Text] Beijing, 5 Sep (XINHUA)--Regulations Governing Offenses Against Public Order of the People's Republic of China

Adopted by the 17th session of the Standing Committee of the Sixth NPC on 5 September 1986.

Chapter One: General Principles

Article 1. These regulations are drawn up for the purpose of improving the control of public order, maintaining social order and public security, protecting citizens' legitimate rights and interests, and ensuring the smooth progress of socialist modernization.

Article 2. Anyone who disturbs social order, disrupts public safety, infringes on another citizen's personal rights, or encroaches on public or private property commits a crime according to the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China. The offender shall have his criminal responsibilities investigated. Should the act be punishable as a public offense, and not as a criminal felony, it should be handled according to these regulations.

Article 3. These regulations are applicable to public offenses committed within the territory of the People's Republic of China, except for those which the law has prescribed otherwise.

These regulations are also applicable to public offenses committed aboard boats and ships, or on aircraft, of the People's Republic of China.

Article 4. Public security organs shall handle public offenders according to the principle of combining education and punishment.

Article 5. Public security organs may handle through mediation minor public offenses such as fistfights or damage to property resulting from disputes among people.

Chapter Two: Types of Punishment and Their Application

Article 6. The following three types of punishment for public offenders have been established:

1) Warning.

2) Fines: From 1 yuan to not more than 200 yuan. Separate rules stipulated in Articles 30, 31, and 32 shall be applied in handling offenses stipulated in those Articles.

3) Detention: From 1 day to not more than 15 days.

Article 7. Property acquired through offenses against public order, or contraband goods that have been apprehended, shall be returned to the original owner, or confiscated, according to regulations. Tools used by offenders against public order may be confiscated according to regulations. Specific measures shall be drawn up by the Ministry of Public Security.

Article 8. Offenders against public order shall be held responsible for paying for losses or medical expenses, should there be losses or injuries caused by public offenses. In case a public order offender is handicapped or partially handicapped and is unable to pay for losses or afford indemnity, his guardian shall be responsible for paying or bearing the indemnity according to law.

Article 9. Public order offenders having reached the age of 14, but not yet 18, receive a lesser punishment. Offenders under 14 shall not be punished, but shall be reprimanded, and their guardians shall be charged with the responsibility of disciplining them.

Article 10. Mentally ill persons who offend public order when they cannot control their conduct shall not be punished; but their guardians shall be instructed to subject them to strict surveillance and give them medical treatment. Intermittently mentally ill persons who offend public order when they are mentally normal shall be punished.

Article 11. Deaf, mute, or blind people who commit public offenses because of physiological defects shall not be punished.

Article 12. People who commit public offenses when they are drunk are punishable. An intoxicated person whose inebriation may endanger himself or others shall be restrained until he becomes sober.

Article 13. When one person has committed two or more public offenses they shall be adjudicated separately but punished together.

Article 14. When two or more people have committed a public offense, they shall be handled separately according to the seriousness of each individual case.

Anyone who instigates, coerces, or induces another to commit a public offense shall be handled according to the way he instigates, coerces, or induces.

Article 15. When an official organ, a group, an enterprise, or an institution commits a public offense, its direct sponsor shall be punished. If the offense is instigated by the supervisor of a unit, the supervisor shall also be punished.

Article 16. If the public offense falls under one of the following categories, it may receive a lesser--or no--punishment:

1) The case is a particularly minor one;

2) The offender takes the initiative in admitting his mistakes and promptly correcting them;

3) The offense is caused by another person's coercion or inducement.

Article 17. Heavier punishment should be meted out for public order offenses under one of the following circumstances:

1) The offense results in grave consequences;

2) The offender forces and induces others or directs other persons under 18 years of age to violate the public order regulations;

3) The offender retaliates against the accuser and the witness or witnesses;

4) The offender repeatedly commits crimes without repentance.

Article 18. No punishment shall be meted out for violations against the public order regulations if the violations are not discovered by public security organs within 6 months.

The period of 6 months mentioned in the previous paragraph shall take effect from the day the violation against the public order regulations is committed; if the violation of the regulations involves successive or continuous action, the period shall take effect from the day the action ends.

Chapter Three: Violations of the Public Order Regulations and Punishments

Article 19. Persons who commit one of the following offenses against public order and which do not yet deserve criminal punishment shall be detained not more than 15 days, or fined not more than 200 yuan, or be given a warning:

1) Persons who disrupt the order in government departments, public organizations, enterprises, and institutions, thus making it impossible

to carry on normal work, production, business, medical services, teaching work, and scientific research, but whose offense has not yet caused serious losses;

2) Persons who disrupt order in vehicle stations, docks, civilian air terminals, markets, commercial centers, parks, movie theaters, recreation centers, sports stadiums, exhibition halls, or other public places;

3) Persons who disrupt order in public buses, streetcars, trains, vessels, and other means of transportation;

4) Persons who become involved in gang fights, pick quarrels, stir up trouble, insult women, or carry out other acts of hooliganism;

5) Persons who spread rumors to mislead the public, and incite the public to make trouble;

6) Persons who make false reports on incidents with the intention of creating confusion;

7) Persons who obstruct state functionaries in the execution of their duties, but who do not resort to violence and threats in doing so.

Article 20. Persons who commit one of the following offenses of hampering public safety shall be detained not more than 15 days, or fined not more than 200 yuan, or be given a warning:

1) Persons who illegally carry and keep firearms and ammunition, or who violate other provisions of the regulations governing the control of firearms, but whose offense does not call for criminal punishment;

2) Persons who violate the regulations governing the control of explosive, poisonous, flammable, radioactive, and other hazardous materials by manufacturing, storing, transporting, and using such materials, but whose offense has not yet caused serious consequences;

3) Persons who illegally manufacture, sell, or carry daggers, three-pronged knives, jacknives, or other sharp instruments;

4) Persons who run hotels, restaurants, theaters, amusement centers, sports stadiums, exhibition halls, or other places for the masses to gather, in violation of the safety regulations and who make no effort to correct the situation after being notified by public security departments;

5) Persons who fail to adopt good safety measures in organizing mass rallies or cultural, amusement, sports, or other activities such as exhibitions and exhibition sales involving many people, and who make no effort to correct the situation after being notified by public security departments;

6) Persons who violate ferryboat or ferry safety regulations and take no correctional measures after being notified by public security organizations;

7) Persons who rush to board ferryboats despite being dissuaded from doing so, and as a result overload them, or force ferryboat pilots to violate safety regulations and navigate in a risky manner, but whose offense does not merit criminal punishment;

8) Persons who dig pits or caves, place barriers, or destroy or remove signposts along railways, highways, and waterways and on dikes or dams, thus possibly affecting traffic safety, but whose offense does not merit criminal punishment.

Article 21. Persons who commit one of the following offenses of hampering public security shall be fined not more than 200 yuan or given a warning:

1) Persons who build or use shooting ranges for civilian use, violating safety regulations;

2) Persons who install or use electrified nets without approval, or install or use electrified nets which violate safety regulations, but whose offense has not resulted in serious consequences;

3) Persons who engage in construction in places where vehicles or pedestrians pass through and fail to cover ditches, wells, holes, or pits or to erect warning signs, or deliberately destroy covers or warning signs.

Article 22. Persons who commit one of the following offenses of infringing upon other people's personal rights, but whose offense does not merit criminal punishment, shall be detained not more than 15 days, or fined not more than 200 yuan, or given a warning:

1) Persons who beat up other people and cause slight injury;

2) Persons who illegally limit other people's personal freedom or illegally intrude into other people's quarters;

3) Persons who openly insult other people or fabricate stories slandering other people;

4) Persons who abuse their own family members, who call for having their cases taken care of;

5) Persons who write blackmailing letters or use other measures to threaten other people's safety or interfere with other people's normal life;

6) Persons who coerce or cajole persons under 18 years of age into giving a horrible or cruel performance which destroys their physical or mental health;

7) Persons who conceal, destroy, or open other people's mail or telegrams without permission.

Article 23. Persons who commit one of the following offenses of infringing upon public or private property but whose offense does not merit criminal punishment shall be detained not more than 15 days or given a warning with a concurrent fine of not more than 200 yuan, or be fined not more than 200 yuan:

1) Persons who engage in thievery, gain by cheating, or steal a small amount of public or private property;

2) Persons who steal and incite others to steal property of the state, a collective, or an individual;

3) Persons who extort public property or personal belongings;

4) Persons who deliberately damage public property or personal belongings.

Article 24. Persons who commit one of the following public offenses shall be detained not more than 15 days, fined not more than 200 yuan, or given a warning:

1) Persons who knowingly buy stolen goods;

2) Persons who resell train, bus, or steamer tickets, admission tickets for theatrical performances or athletic games, and other coupons, but whose offense does not merit criminal punishment;

3) Persons who violate the government's prohibition by smoking opium or giving or taking injections of morphine or other narcotic drugs;

4) Persons who use feudalistic or superstitious means to disturb public order or gain property by cheating, but whose offense does not merit criminal punishment;

5) Persons who drive other people's motor vehicles without permission.

Article 25. Persons who commit one of the following public offenses listed under clauses 1 to 3 shall be fined not more than 200 yuan or given a warning; those who commit one of the following public offenses listed under clauses 4 to 7 shall be fined not more than 50 yuan or given a warning:

1) Persons who hide and fail to report and deliver to the state cultural relics discovered underground, in inland waters or in territorial waters, and in other places of the country;

2) Seal-engraving dealers who make public seals in violation of control regulations but whose offense has not resulted in serious consequences;

3) Persons who deliberately tarnish or damage state-protected cultural relics, scenic spots, or historical sites, or damage sculptures in public places but whose offense does not merit criminal punishment;

4) Persons who deliberately damage or arbitrarily remove road signs or traffic signs;

5) Persons who deliberately damage street lamps, mailboxes, public telephones, or other public facilities but whose offense does not merit criminal punishment;

6) Persons who violate regulations by destroying lawns, flowers, or trees;

7) Persons who use sound equipment in urban areas in such a way that its loudness affects the work and rest of nearby residents, and who ignore warnings to stop making such a noise.

Article 26. Persons who commit one of the following offenses of violating the fire control regulations listed under clauses 1 to 4 shall be detained not more than 10 days, fined not more than 100 yuan, or be given a warning; those who commit one of the following offenses listed under clauses 5 to 8 shall be fined not more than 100 yuan or be given a warning:

1) Persons who deliberately obstruct the passage of fire engines or fire-fighting vessels or deliberately disrupt order at the scene of a fire but whose offense does not merit criminal punishment;

2) Persons who disobey the command of fire-fighting directors at the scene of a fire, thus affecting fire-fighting and rescue work;

3) Persons whose negligence is the cause of a fire which has not resulted in heavy losses;

4) Persons who incite or force others to engage in risky work in violation of fire safety regulations but whose offense has not resulted in serious consequences;

5) Persons who violate fire safety regulations by occupying spaces marked for fire engines or by building sheds or houses, digging ditches, or building walls that obstruct the passage of fire engines;

6) Persons who bury, cover up, block, or damage fire hydrants, water pumps, water towers, water-storing ponds, or other fire-fighting facilities or who use fire-fighting materials or equipment for other purposes, and who refuse to change their ways after being notified by public security departments;

7) Persons who refuse to remove fire hazards after being notified by public security departments.

Article 27. When violating traffic regulations, persons who commit one of the following offenses listed under clauses 1 to 6 shall be detained not more than 15 days, fined not more than 200 yuan, or given a warning; those who, when violating traffic regulations, commit one of the following offenses listed under clauses 7 to 11 shall be fined not more than 50 yuan or be given a warning:

1) Persons who misuse or loan vehicle license plates or driving licenses to other people;

2) Persons who drive automobiles without a driving license or under the influence of alcohol, or allow people who have no driving license to use their automobiles;

3) Persons who disobey the commands of the people's police and obstruct traffic in violation of relevant regulations by participating in a rally or demonstration in an urban area;

4) Persons who unreasonably stop a vehicle to forcefully board it, thus affecting the normal operation of the vehicle, and who refuse to change their ways after being warned;

5) Persons who refuse to heed the warnings of public security personnel and forcefully pass through areas where clear prohibitive signs have been put up by public security departments at and above the county level;

6) Persons who cause traffic accidents as a result of violating traffic rules but whose offense does not merit criminal punishment;

7) Persons who drive automobiles which have not been inspected or approved for operation by traffic administrative departments;

8) Persons who drive automobiles with parts that do not meet safety requirements;

9) Persons who drive automobiles under the influence of alcohol;

10) Persons who incite or force drivers of automobiles to violate traffic regulations;

11) Persons who put up sheds, structures, or stalls, store materials in streets, or commit other offenses interfering with traffic.

Article 28. Any of the following offenses against traffic control shall be subject to a fine of not more than 5 yaun or a warning:

1) Driving a motor vehicle in violation of loading and speeding regulations, or of traffic signs and signals;

2) Violation of traffic regulations by drivers of nonmotorized vehicles or pedestrians;

3) Parking vehicles in areas specifically banned by traffic control departments for parking; and

4) Installing and using special sound alarm devices or signal lights in motor vehicles in violation of the law.

Article 29. Any of the offenses listed under clauses 1 to 3 against household registration or resident identity card management shall be subject to a fine of not more than 50 yuan or result in a warning, while the offenses listed under clauses 4 and 5 shall be subject to a fine of not more than 100 yuan or result in a warning:

1) Failure to take remedial steps after receiving notification from public security organs for not applying for household registration or resident identity cards pursuant to relevant regulations;

2) Falsely applying for household registration, or using the household registers or resident identity cards of other people;

3) Deliberately altering household registers;

4) Failure on the part of hotel operators to register hotel guests pursuant to relevant regulations; and

5) Failure to report and register tenants of houses or bed space pursuant to relevant regulations.

Article 30. Prostitution, whoring with unlicensed prostitutes, and making introductions or providing accommodations for prostitution and whoring with unlicensed prostitutes are strictly prohibited. Offenders shall be detained for not more than 15 days, or given a warning, or made to provide a written statement of repentance, or given education through labor pursuant to relevant regulations. They may be concurrently fined not more than 5,000 yuan. Criminal liability shall be pursued in accordance with the law for those offenses that constitute crimes.

Whoring with a young girl under 14 years of age shall be punished as a crime of rape pursuant to Article 139 of the Criminal Law.

Article 31. The growing of opium poppy and other narcotics-yielding plants in violation of government regulations is strictly prohibited. Offenders shall not only be made to uproot the opium poppy and other narcotics-yielding plants they have grown, but shall also be detained for not more than 15 days. They may also be fined not more than 3,000 yuan separately or concurrently. Criminal liability shall be pursued in accordance with the law for those offenses that constitute crimes.

Article 32. The following offenses are strictly prohibited:

1. Gambling or providing conditions for gambling; and

2. Producing, reproducing, selling, lending, or disseminating pornographic books, pictures, and video cassettes, or other obscene articles.

Any of the above mentioned offenses shall be punishable by not more than 15 days of detention. They are also punishable by a fine of not more than 3,000 yuan separately or concurrently, or by education through labor pursuant to relevant regulations. Criminal liability shall be pursued for those offenses that constitute crimes.

Chapter Four: Adjudication and Enforcement

Article 33. Offenses against public order shall be adjudicated by county and city public security bureaus and subbureaus, or by public security organs equivalent to the county level.

Warnings and fines of not more than 50 yuan may be served by local police stations; public security organs may entrust township (town) people's governments with adjudication in rural areas where there are no local police stations.

Article 34. Public security personnel may mete out punishment on the spot to an offender against public order who is given a warning or a fine of less than 50 yuan, or is given a fine of more than 50 yuan but expresses no objection to it.

The following procedures are applicable regarding other punishments for offenders against public order:

1. Summons. Public security organs shall summon offenders against public order and use subpoenas. An oral summons may be served on an offender against public order caught red-handed. Public security organs may serve compulsory summonses on offenders who reject or avoid the summonses without justifiable reasons.

2. Interrogation. Offenders against public order shall answer truthfully to the interrogation of public security organs. Notes shall be taken of the interrogation. After checking the notes and finding them to be correct, the interrogees shall sign or affix their chops to the notes. The interrogators shall also sign the notes.

3. Collecting evidence. The departments concerned and citizens shall actively support and assist public security organs in collecting evidence. Witnesses shall reflect matters as they are during interrogation, and notes shall be taken of the interrogation. After checking the notes and finding them to be correct, the witnesses shall sign or affix their chops to the notes.

4. Adjudication. Offenses against public order shall be adjudicated pursuant to the relevant provisions of these regulations after they have been verified through interrogation and investigation and the evidence has been found to be conclusive.

A verdict shall be filled out and pronounced immediately on the offender himself. The verdict shall be in triplicate, each copy of which shall be given to the person being adjudicated, the unit to which the person being adjudicated belongs, and the local police station in the place where the person being adjudicated has taken up permanent residence. The unit and the local police station in the place of permanent residence shall assist with enforcement of the verdict.

5. Public security organs shall conduct interrogation and investigation promptly after serving a summons on an offender against public order. The time of interrogation and investigation shall not exceed 24 hours in complicated cases in which detention is applicable pursuant to the provisions of these regulations.

Article 35. The person punished by detention shall go to the specified detention house during the prescribed time limit to accept the punishment. In case of resistance against enforcement, the punishment shall be enforced compulsorily.

The detainee shall pay for his own food during the period of detention.

Article 36. The person punished with a fine shall give the fine to public security personnel on the spot or deliver the money to the specified public security organ within 5 days of receiving the notification or the verdict. Failure to deliver the money by the time limit without justifiable reasons may result in an increase of the fine by 1 to 5 yuan per day. Those who refuse to pay the fine may be detained for not more than 15 days, and the fine shall still be enforced.

Public security organs or personnel shall issue receipts to the persons being fined upon receipt of the fines.

All the fines shall be delivered to the state treasury.

Article 37. In confiscating properties, adjudicating organs shall issue receipts to the persons whose properties are confiscated.

All the confiscated properties shall be delivered to the state treasury. Except for contraband, goods stolen, taken by force, or obtained through deception or extortion shall be returned to their owners after locating the owners within 6 months.

Article 38. Those adjudicated to compensate for losses or pay for medical expenses shall deliver the money to the adjudicating organs for forward delivery within 5 days of receiving the verdict. Payment can be made in installments if the amount involved is considerable. If payment is refused, the adjudicating organs shall notify the unit concerned to deduct wages or seize properties to satisfy payment.

Article 39. Those adjudicated for public offenses and the victims may file an appeal with the higher public security organs within 5 days of receiving the notification if they are not satisifed with the ruling of the public security organs or township (town) people's government. The higher public security organs shall render a ruling within 5 days of receiving the appeal. If found unsatisfactory, the ruling of the higher public security organs may be appealed to the local people's courts within 5 days of receiving the notification.

Article 40. The original ruling shall remain valid during the period of appelation and litigation if the appeal or lawsuit is filed in connection with the punishment for a public offense. The original ruling shall be suspended during the period of appelation and litigation if the person sentenced to detention or his family can find a guarantor or provide bail pursuant to relevant regulations. The bail shall be returned pursuant to relevant regulations when the ruling is rescinded or execution of the ruling begins.

Article 41. In enforcing these regulations, public security personnel shall strictly observe law and discipline, enforce law with fairness, and refrain from practicing favoritism or fraud. Beating, scolding, maltreating, and insulting offenders against public order are prohibited. Violators shall be given disciplinary sanctions. Criminal liability shall be pursued in accordance with the law for those offenses that constitute crimes.

Article 42. In case of erroneous punishment of a citizen for a public offense, public security organs shall admit their mistake and return the fine and confiscated property to the person so punished. Compensation for losses shall be made if the legitimate rights of the person so punished have been infringed upon.

Chapter Five: Supplementary Articles

Article 43. "More than" or "not more than" a specified amount in reference to penalties or time limits in these regulations are inclusive.

Article 44. Measures for implementation in punishing offenses against traffic regulations shall be formulated separately by the State Council.

Article 45. These regulations shall take effect on 1 January 1987. The "Regulations Governing Offenses Against Public Order of the People's Republic of China" promulgated on 22 October 1957 shall be abolished at the same time.

/12858
CSO: 4005/007

REGULATIONS ON DIPLOMATIC PRIVILEGES, IMMUNITIES

OW100843 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0126 GMT 6 Sep 86

[Text] Beijing, 6 Sep (XINHUA)--Regulations on Diplomatic Privileges and Immunities of the People's Republic of China

Adopted by the 17th Session of the Standing Committee of the 6th NPC on 5 September 1986:

Article 1. These regulations are formulated in order to affirm the diplomatic privileges and immunities of foreign diplomatic missions in China and their personnel and make it convenient for foreign diplomatic missions to perform their functions effectively on behalf of their nations.

Article 2. Mission diplomatic personnel should, in principle, be the nationals of the sending nation. Approval must be acquired from competent Chinese departments if Chinese or third-country nationals are assigned as diplomatic personnel. The competent Chinese departments may revoke this approval at any time.

Article 3. A diplomatic mission and its head are entitled to use the sending nation's flag or national emblem on the premise of the diplomatic mission and on the transportation vehicle on the mission head.

Article 4. The premises of a diplomatic mission are inviolable. Chinese government functionaries must have the approval of the diplomatic mission head or his agents in order to enter the premises of a diplomatic mission. Relevant Chinese departments shall take appropriate measures to protect the premises of diplomatic missions from being encroached upon or damaged.

The premises, facilities, and other properties of the diplomatic mission, as well as its vehicles, are exempt from search, requisition, impoundment, or enforcement.

Article 5. The premises of a diplomatic mission are exempt from taxation. However, this does not apply to charges for specified services provided to it.

Fixed fees and service charges collected by the diplomatic mission from its official business are exempt from taxation.

Article 6. The archives and documents of a diplomatic mission are inviolable.

Article 7. The personnel of a diplomatic mission enjoy freedom of movement and travel within the boundaries of China, except for forbidden or restricted areas designated by the Chinese government.

Article 8. A diplomatic mission may, for official business, freely correspond with the government of the sending nation, as well as other diplomatic missions and consulates of the sending nation. Correspondence can be carried out in all appropriate forms, including the use of diplomatic messengers, diplomatic pouch, and plain or secret code telegrams.

Article 9. Radio receivers and transmitters installed in a diplomatic mission for correspondence purposes must be approved by the Chinese government. The importation of such equipment shall be handled in accordance with the relevant regulations of the Chinese government.

Article 10. Incoming and outgoing official documents of a diplomatic mission are inviolable.

Diplomatic pouches shall be used only to carry diplomatic documents and articles for official use. They shall be sealed, with identification marks on the outside.

Article 11. A diplomatic messenger shall have a certificate of messenger issued by the competent department of the sending nation. A diplomatic messenger enjoys personal inviolability and cannot be arrested or detained.

A temporary diplomatic messenger must have a certificate of temporary messenger issued by the competent department of the sending nation. He enjoys the same immunities granted to diplomatic messengers during the period when he is responsible for carrying diplomatic pouches.

The captain of a commercial airplane may be entrusted to deliver diplomatic pouches. However, he must have official documents, issued by the country concerned, which clearly states how many diplomatic pouches he is delivering. The captain is not regarded as a diplomatic messenger. The diplomatic mission shall send mission personnel to collect the diplomatic pouches from the captain.

Article 12. Diplomatic representatives enjoy personal inviolability and cannot be arrested or detained. The relevant Chinese departments shall take appropriate measures to prevent the personal freedom and dignity of diplomatic representatives from being encroached upon.

Article 13. The residence of a diplomatic representative is inviolable and is under protection.

The documents and letters of a diplomatic representative are inviolable. The property of the diplomatic representative is inviolable, except for where the stipulations in Article 14 are applicable.

Article 14. A diplomatic representative is immune from criminal jurisdiction.

A diplomatic representative is immune from civil and administrative jurisdiction, with the following exceptions:

1. When he is engaged in an inheritance lawsuit in his private capacity; and

2. When he is engaged in a vocational or commercial lawsuit on other than his official business within the boundaries of China in violation of Article 25, Section 3.

A diplomatic representative is immune from enforcement. However, in cases where the preceding section are applicable, enforcement may be carried out if it does not constitute a violation of his person or residence.

A diplomatic representative is not obligated to testify as a witness.

Article 15. The administrative immunity of diplomatic representatives and personnel enjoying immunities in accordance with Article 20 may be renounced if the government of the sending nation makes a clear indication to this effect.

If diplomatic representatives or personnel enjoying immunities in accordance with Article 20 initiate a lawsuit they may not invoke administrative immunity with regard to counterclaims directly related to the lawsuit.

Renouncing civil or administrative immunity does not mean also renouncing immunity from the enforcement of the court decision. Another clear indication to this effect shall be made in order to renounce immunity from the enforcement of the court decision.

Article 16. A diplomatic representative is exempt from taxation. However, there are exceptions, as follows:

1. Taxes that are usually included in commodity prices or service charges;

2. Taxes related to inheritance. However, this is not applicable to a deceased diplomatic representative's movable property within the boundaries of China;

3. Taxes for private income originating within the boundaries of China;

4. Charges for specified services provided.

Article 17. A diplomatic representative is exempt from all personal and public labor service, as well as military service.

Article 18. Articles imported by a diplomatic mission for official use and articles imported by a diplomatic representative for personal use are exempt from customs duty and other taxation, in accordance with the relevant regulations of the Chinese government.

The personal luggage of diplomatic representatives is exempt from examination. However, it may be subject to examination when relevant Chinese departments have major reasons to suspect that the luggage contains articles not conforming to the preceding Article on taxation exemption, articles that are not allowed to be imported or exported by Chinese law, or articles subject to control in line with the quarantine law. The diplomatic representative or personnel authorized by him shall be present when the luggage is examined.

Article 19. Firearms and ammunition carried in by a diplomatic mission or mission personnel for their own use must subject to the approval of the Chinese government and handled pursuant to relevant regulations.

Article 20. A spouse and underage children living with a diplomatic representative enjoy the privileges and immunities stipulated in Articles 12 to 18, if they are not Chinese citizens.

A diplomatic mission's administrative and technical personnel and their spouses and underage children enjoy the privileges and immunities stipulated in Articles 12 to 17, if they are not Chinese citizens or permanent residents in China. However, their civil and administrative immunity is limited to their acts in conducting official business. The household articles imported by them within 6 months after they assume office at the mission are exempt from taxation pursuant to Section 1, Article 18.

Service personnel of a diplomatic mission enjoy immunity for their acts in conducting official business and the remuneration from their employment is exempt from income tax, if they are not Chinese citizens or permanent residents of China. Household articles imported by them within 6 months after they assume office are exempt from taxation pursuant to Section 1, Article 18.

The private attendants of diplomatic mission personnel are exempt from income tax for the remuneration from their employment if they are not Chinese citizens or permanent residents of China.

Article 21. In the case of diplomatic representatives being Chinese citizens or foreigners with permanent residence in China, their jurisdiction immunity and inviolability applies only to their acts in conducting official duty.

Article 22. The following personnel enjoy the necessary immunity and inviolability during stopovers or stays in China:

1. Diplomatic representatives stationed in a third country and spouses and children under age who are living with the representatives travelling through China;

2. Officials of a foreign country who come to China with Chinese diplomatic visas or diplomatic passports (only for countries which also waive visas for Chinese);

3. Other foreigners visiting China to whom the Chinese government grants the privileges and immunities stipulated in the present regulations;

Diplomatic messengers of a third country travelling through China and the diplomatic pouches they carry shall be handled in accordance with the provisions of Articles 10 and 11.

Article 23. The head of state, government leaders, foreign minister, and other officials of equivalent status of a foreign country shall enjoy privileges and immunities stipulated in the present regulations.

Article 24. Foreign representatives who come to China for international conferences convened by the United Nations or its special agencies, officials and experts of the United Nations and its special agencies who are temporarily in China, and representative offices and personnel of the United Nations and its special agencies shall be treated in accordance with the relevant international conventions signed by China and in accordance with the agreements signed between China and the relevant international organizations.

Article 25. Personnel enjoying diplomatic privileges and immunities:

1. Shall respect Chinese laws and decrees;

2. Shall not intervene in Chinese internal affairs;

3. Shall not engage in any professional or business activities for personal interest within Chinese boundaries; and

4. Shall not use the premises of the diplomatic mission or the residences of its working personnel for purposes incompatible with their diplomatic duties.

Article 26. In cases when diplomatic privileges and immunities granted by a foreign country to a Chinese diplomatic mission and mission personnel stationed in that country and to relevant Chinese personnel temporarily in that country are less than those granted by China to that country's diplomatic mission and mission personnel stationed in China and to its relevant personnel temporarily in China, the Chinese government may, in

accordance with the principle of reciprocity, accord only corresponding diplomatic prerogatives and immunity to that country's diplomatic mission, mission personnel stationed in China, and relevant personnel temporarily in China.

Article 27. In case of different stipulations in international treaties concluded or signed by China, the provisions of the international treaties shall apply. However, this does not include provisions to which China has declared reservations.

In case of different stipulations in diplomatic privileges and immunity agreements signed between China and foreign countries, the provisions of the agreements shall apply.

Article 28. The meaning of the following terms used in the present regulations is as follows:

1. "Head of a diplomatic mission" refers to the ambassador, minister, charge d'affairs, or other persons at the same level sent by a foreign country.

2. "Mission personnel" refers to the head of a diplomatic mission and the mission's working personnel.

3. "Mission's working personnel" refers to the diplomatic personnel, administrative and technical personnel, and service personnel of a diplomatic mission.

4. "Mission's diplomatic personnel" refers to the working personnel of a diplomatic mission who possess official titles.

5. "Diplomatic representatives" refers to the head of a diplomatic mission and the mission's diplomatic personnel.

6. "Mission's administrative and technical personnel" refers to the working personnel of a diplomatic mission engaged in administrative and technical work.

7. "Mission's service personnel" refers to the working personnel of a diplomatic mission engaged in service work.

8. "Private attendants" refers to personnel hired by the mission personnel personally.

9. "Premises of a diplomatic mission" refers to the buildings and the attached land used as the official residence of the head of a diplomatic mission.

Article 29. These regulations shall take effect beginning the date of promulgation.

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CSO: 4005/007

BRIEFS

SELF-TAUGHT STUDENTS' DEGREES--Beijing, 29 Aug (XINHUA)--Millions of Chinese have made progress toward college degrees by studying at home and passing national examinations. Some 11,400 of them have already earned college degrees through the examination system since the country began offering equivalency exams in 1981. In addition, 2.5 million certificates for passing the examinations of single subjects--the Chinese language and literature, english, law, etc.--have been issued. Among the major beneficiaries of the examination system are victims of the "cultural revolution" (1966-1976) who had no chance to obtain normal higher educations. [Excerpts] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1028 GMT 29 Aug 86 OW] /9738

USSR-U.S. TIES--Moscow, 13 Sep (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union and the United States "need each other as partners equally interested in mutual security," said Georgiy Arbatov today, the director of the Institute of the U.S. and Canadian Studies. Analyzing Soviet-U.S. relations in the Communist Party paper PRAVDA, Arbatov refuted Washington's view that the Soviet Union needed more than the United the normalization of relations, reconciliation, trade and summit meetings. Arbatov said the future of human beings in the nuclear era depends to a large extent on the development of Soviet-U.S. relations, thus determining the importance of the responsibilities of the two peoples and governments. It's high time for the U.S. Government to take practical actions, to embark on the road of peace and eliminate the nuclear threat, he said. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1422 GMT 13 Sep 86 OW] /9738

ENLARGED FOREIGN STUDENTS QUOTA--Beijing, 16 Sep (XINHUA)--China will accept 2,400 foreign students this year, 400 more than 1985, an official from the State Education Commission told XINHUA today. Counting graduate students, research scholars and those attending short-term training classes, the total number of foreigners currently studying in China has exceeded 20,000, he said. Since China resumed accepting foreign students in 1973, the number has been steadily increasing, he noted, especially after the country adopted its open-policy in 1979. Up to now, China has received foreign students from 114 countries who are studying in or have graduated from 70 Chinese universities and colleges in 17 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. China also plans to build or co-build schools abroad, he disclosed, adding that a China-funded technical school has already been established in the Yemen Arab Republic. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1119 GMT 16 Sep 86 OW] /9738

CSO: 4000/009

SHANGHAI CPPCC STANDING COMMITTEE MEETS

OW141335 Shanghai City Service in Chinese 0000 GMT 12 Sep 86

[Excerpts] The Standing Committee of the Sixth Shanghai CPPCC Municipal Committee held its 18th meeting on 11 September. The meeting reviewed and approved a report on the work done in the past 4 months since the Fifth Session of the Sixth CPPCC Municipal Committee, and outlined the work plan until the first quarter of next year. Chairman Li Guohao presided over the meeting.

The meeting pointed out: In order to enhance understanding of the importance of spiritual civilization and political reform, the CPPCC Municipal Committee should organize its members to study, in the first quarter of next year, the resolutions to be adopted by the upcoming 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, and especially conduct in-depth study and discussion of the role of the CPPCC and democratic parties in national political life.

The meeting decided that SHANGHAI ZHENGXIA BAO [Shanghai CPPCC News] be renamed LIANHE SHIBAO [United Times] starting January 1987.

The meeting heard reports by officials from the Municipal Planning Commission, the Municipal Commission for Foreign Economic Relations and Trade, and the Municipal Finance Bureau respectively on the economic, foreign investment, and financial situation in Shanghai.

The meeting also approved personnel appointments and removals.

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CSO: 4005/007

ANHUI DISCIPLINE ORGANS URGED TO SUPPORT REFORM

OW051034 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 3 Sep 86

[Station Commentary: "Discipline Inspection Organs Are Reformers' Backup Force"]

[Text] By investigating the charges reported in letters it received, the Discipline Inspection Commission of the Xuancheng Prefectural Party Committee, Anhui, has seriously handled a case in which a reformer was framed. This serves as a serious warning to those who attempt to use letters to confound black and white and achieve their despicable purposes. It also serves as a powerful backing to reformers.

People who dedicate themselves to reform are in need of the discipline inspection departments' protection and support. Since their reform activities encroach upon some people's vested interests, there certainly will be people who wish to trump up false charges against them and make every effort to subject them to criticism. Discipline inspection organs will create a good social and political environment for reform by verifying the accusations and dealing firmly with those people who act on heresay and fabricate false charges against innocent people.

As economic reform continues to develop, discipline inspection organs are duty bound to support reform and ensure its smooth progress. Discipline inspection organs not only must investigate and handle those people who take advantage of loopholes in reform and act against regulations, they must also investigate and handle those people who trump up false charges against reformers. This is to eliminate the obstacles standing in the way of reform. As for the mistakes committed by reformers in doing their work, discipline inspection organs should ardently help them learn their lessons so that reform can proceed soundly along the socialist course.

It is a glorious mission of discipline inspection departments to back up reformers!

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CSO: 4005/007

ANHUI GOVERNOR ADDRESSES JOURNALISM MEETING

OW141405 Hefei ANHUI RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 86 p 1

[By ANHUI RIBAO Reporter Yuan Yalin]

[Excerpts] The second council meeting of the Provincial Journalists' Association and the Provincial Society of Journalism was held in Hefei from 21 to 23 August.

The purpose of the meeting was to promote reform in journalism so that journalistic work in Anhui can better serve the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization.

Wang Yuzhao, deputy secretary of the Provincial Party Committee and governor of Anhui, spoke at the meeting. After discussing the importance of reform in journalism and ways of implementing it, he called on party committees at various levels to strenghten party leadership over journalistic work, and to respect the law of journalism and decisionmaking power of press units.

Ou Yuanfang, Standing Committee member of the Provincial Advisory Commission, Su Pingfan, deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the Provincial Party Committee, and Lu Desheng, vice chairman of the Provincial Federation of Societies of Social Sciences, also spoke at the meeting.

The meeting approved a work report by the previous Standing Council and the new constitution of the Provincial Journalists' Society and the Provincial Journalism Society, and elected 16 Standing Council members. Han Youshan [7281 6788 1472] was elected president, Liu Xing [0491 2502], Qian Lin [6929 2651], Li Guozhen [2621 0948 2823], Wang Likuang [3769 4409 6315], Da Ce [1129 4595], and Chen Sen [7115 2773] vice presidents, and Wang Chengli [3769 2052 4409] secretary general. Mao Fujun [0379 5397 0689] was retained as an adviser.

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CSO: 4005/007

ANHUI LEADERS ATTEND IDEOLOGICAL WORK CONFERENCE

OW150815 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 11 Sep 86

[Excerpts] A provincial conference on ideological and political work in commercial departments closed in Hefei on 11 September. Participants in the conference studied the characteristics and methods of carrying out ideological and political work among workers and staff members of commercial departments in the course of reform. They also exchanged experience in improving commercial service. Some 500 personnel of civilized units, model workers, advanced workers, and outstanding ideological and political workers in commercial departments attended the conference.

Leaders of the Provincial Party Committee, Provincial Advisory Commission, Provincial People's Congress, Provincial Government, and CPPCC Provincial Committee Wang Yuzhao, Yuan Zhen, Wang Guangyu, Song Ming, and Meng Yigi, as well as officials of the Provincial Economic Commission, Provincial Trade Union Council, Provincial CYL Committee, and Provincial Women's Federation, attended the conference.

Vice Governor Song Ming spoke at the conference. He called on commercial departments throughout the province to thoroughly carry out structural reform, promote lateral ties in commodity circulation, try out new forms of commerce, explore new circulation channels, straighten out things in the wholesale trade system, invigorate enterprises, and enliven the market.

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CSO: 4005/007

JIANGSU CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETS

OW040850 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 2 Sep 86

[Excerpts] The 21st session of the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee opened in Nanjing on the morning of 2 September. According to the draft agenda, the meeting will study and discuss important documents of the central authorities on safeguarding the socialist legal system, examine the draft provincial regulations on management of water conservancy projects as well as the draft provincial measures for implementing the PRC Compulsory Education Law. The meeting will also hear and examine the provincial government's report on popularizing legal knowledge and on the implementation of the Food Hygiene Law, and discuss personnel appointments and dismissals.

Chairman Chu Jaing presided over the morning plenary session, and delivered a speech on studying the important documents of the central authorities on safeguarding the socialist legal system.

Attending the meeting were Li Qingkui, Wang Bingshi, and Hong Peilin, vice chairmen of the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee. Ling Qihong, vice governor, and responsible persons of the Provincial Higher People's Court, the Provincial People's Procuratorate, departments concerned of the provincial government, and the standing committees of the people's congresses of 11 cities attended the meeting as observers.

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CSO: 4005/007

SHANDONG CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING ENDS

SK100529 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 9 Sep 86

[Excerpts] The 21st Standing Committee meeting of the Provincial People's Congress concluded on 9 September. That morning the meeting held a plenary session, at which the participating members unanimously approved the province's methods for implementing the PRC's law on compulsory education and the province's several provisions on protecting the legitimate rights and interests of women and children.

The methods adopted by the province for implementing the state law on compulsory education are to enforce the 9-year compulsory education in 1990 among the children of 6 years of age throughout the province.

At the plenary session, the participants also approved some personnel changes.

At the meeting the participants earnestly discussed the reports concerning the achievements scored by the province in implementing the temporary provisions on comprehensive development in the urban construction program and in conducting reformatory work through labor and the work of helping the poor.

During their discussion, the participants expressed their satisfaction with the achievements scored by the province in implementing the temporary provisions on comprehensive development in the urban construction program and put forward their opinions on paying attention to occupying less farmland and avoiding pollution in conducting comprehensive development.

During the meeting, the participating members unanimously held that our province has made a new breakthrough in giving a helping hand to the poor over the past few years. The success made in this regard is mainly because of the leading personnel who have taken the lead in the work, gone deep into the poor areas to carry out their official work, and done practical deeds in these areas in developing production in line with the discovered objective situation.

During their discussion, the participating members fully acknowledged the marked achievements scored by the province in conducting the reformatory work through labor. They pointed out that the reformatory work through labor done by the province ranks first in the country and that the broad masses of public security cadres and policemen on this front have industriously devoted to the work, thus they deserve society's praise.

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CSO: 4005/007

BRIEFS

ANHUI LEADERS VIEW EXHIBIT--An exhibition of paintings and calligraphy by teachers, organized by ANHUI JIAOYU ZAZHISHE [Educational Magazine of Anhui] to mark Teachers' Day, opened today. A continuous stream of visitors came to view the exhibition, which was held at the Anhui gallery. Provincial party and government leaders including Wang Yuzhao, Yuan Zhen, Xu Leyi, and Wang Houhong; (Su Qinfan), deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the provincial party committee; and (Lu Qingju), chairman of the provincial educational commission, viewed the exhibition with great interest. [Excerpts] [Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 10 Sep 86] /9604

PAPER STRESSES PARTY RECTIFICATION--XINHUA RIBAO frontpages a report on 14 September on party rectification in Taixing County and its impact on the development of township and town enterprises in the county. The newspaper publishes a commentator's article on the report. The article says: Party rectification among township and town enterprises in Jiangsu has entered the phase of comparison and examination. This is a critical period in party rectification, and we must work vigorously to ensure the success of party rectification and to promote reform and the sound development of township and town enterprises. [Excerpts] [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 13 Sep 86 OW] /12858

CSO: 4005/007

BEIJING OFFICIAL ON CURRENT SITUATION AT CPPCC MEETING

SK050437 Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Aug 86 p 1

[Text] The municipal CPPCC Committee held its 38th Standing Committee meeting on 25 August.

Comrade Gao Ge presided over the meeting. He, first of all, invited Vice Mayor Han Boqing to report on the current situation and tasks of Beijing. Vice Mayor Han Boping said in his brief report: In the first half of this year, municipal industrial production increased continuously; the scale of capital construction was brought under control; the quality of projects completed was improved; the construction area of the basic municipal installations, which facilitated the people's livelihood, expanded; the investment in building cultural, educational, and public health facilities increased by 13.6 percent over the corresponding period of last year; the growth rate of consumption funds was relatively normal; the wage increase was equal to last year's figure; the price index dropped month after month in proportion; people's living standards improved continuously, with the urban rural savings deposits during the first half of this year increasing by 1.2 billion yuan; a good harvest of summer grain was reaped and the autumn grain was doing well, which is expected to surpass the best past record; and the supply of vegetables and non-staple foods was ampler than that in the past several years. In addition, the municipal government's preparing to adopt measures to better satisfy the people's demands for fresh meat and milk. In his brief report, Vice Mayor Han Boping also pointed out some problems in economic work. For instance, there are still some unstable factors in economic work; reserve of some materials has increased; production and marketing of industrial products have not been coordinated; the consumption structure has not been rational enough; and the industrial production structure needs readjustment. Vice Mayor Han Boping sincerely hoped that CPPCC members will collect opinions and offer suggestions for improving the work of Beijing Municipality.

At the meeting, Li Tianshou, secretary general of the municipal CPPCC Committee, made a report on the work of the municipal CPPCC Committee over the past 3 months.

The Standing Committee of the municipal CPPCC Committee also adopted, through consultations, the namelist of the additional vice chairmen of the general office of the municipal CPPCC Committee and the namelists of the additional chairmen, vice chairmen and section chiefs of the study commission and two other commissions under the municipal CPPCC Committee.

Bai Jiefu, chairman of the municipal CPPCC Committee, attended and addressed the meeting. Attending the meeting were vice chairmen of the municipal CPPCC Committee including Guan Shixiong, Su Congzhou, Lu Zongda, Deng Jixing, Li Chen, Ding Gongnan, Kan Guangqing, and Gan Ying.

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CSO: 4005/018

REPORTAGE ON TIANJIN'S 29TH CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING

Meeting Opens

SK090340 Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Aug 86 p 1

[Excerpts] The 29th Standing Committee meeting of the municipal People's Congress opened in the conference room of the Standing Committee on 25 August.

The meeting first approved the agenda that consists of discussing the municipal "provisions" (draft) concerning management over household-run industrial and commercial enterprises, the municipal "provisions" (draft) concerning the protection of the legal rights and interests of household-run enterprises in the rural areas and the enhancement of management over rural household-run enterprises; hearing a report on preparatory work for enforcing the "PRC law" on mineral sources; discussing the work of electing next-term deputies at the district, county, township, and town levels, and the motion on revising the "detailed rules and regulations" of electing deputies at or below the district-county level; and of approving some personnel changes.

The meeting was presided over by Li Zhongyuan, vice chairman of the municipal People's Congress Standing Committee.

Attending the meeting were Zhang Zaiwang, chairman of the municipal People's Congress Standing Committee; and Bai Hua, Liu Zengkun, Xu Ming, Yang Jianbai, Fan Quan, Han Tianyao, Yu Fujing, and Shi Jian, vice chairmen of the municipal People's Congress Standing Committee.

Attending the meeting as observers were Wang Yongchen, president of the municipal Higher People's Court; Jiao Li, deputy chief procurator of the municipal People's Procuratorate; and responsible persons from the departments concerned under the municipal People's Congress Standing Committee, the municipal People's Government, and the municipal CPPCC Committee.

Meeting Concludes

SK090350 Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Sep 86 p 1

[Text] The 29th Standing Committee meeting of the municipal People's Congress concluded on 28 August.

The meeting again examined and discussed the revised municipal "provisions" (draft) concerning the protection of the legal rights and interests of household-run industrial and commercial enterprises and the enhancement of management over these household-run enterprises, and the municipal "provisions" (draft) concerning the protection of the legal rights and interests of rural household-run enterprises and the enhancement of management over these rural enterprises. The meeting also adopted two corresponding resolutions on these provisions.

The meeting examined and approved the matter of electing next-term deputies at the levels of district, county, township, and town; and the motion on revising the "detailed rules and regulations" of electing deputies at or below the district-county level.

The meeting also approved some personnel changes.

Zhang Zaiwang, chairman of the municipal People's Congress Standing Committee, presided over the meeting. Attending yesterday's meeting were vice chairmen of the municipal People's Congress Standing Committee, including Bai Hua, Li Zhongyuan, Liu Zengkun, Xu Ming, Yang Jianbai, Fan Quan, Han Tianyao, and Yu Fujing.

Attending yesterday's meeting as observers were Wang Yongchen, president of the municipal Higher People's Court; Jiao Li, deputy chief procurator of the Municipal People's Procuratorate; and responsible persons from departments concerned.

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CSO: 4005/018

NEI MONGGOL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING

Meeting Convenes

SK300130 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 29 Aug 86

[Excerpts] The 18th Standing Committee meeting of the 6th regional People's Congress opened in Hohhot on the morning of 29 August. The agenda of the meeting is to hear and discuss a report of the autonomous regional Audit Bureau on auditing work of the region, and a report of the autonomous agriculture committee on implementation of the Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional Regulations on Forest Management for Trial Use, to discuss a report on the proposal for opening livestock insurance business in the pastoral areas, and to appoint and remove personnel.

Buetegeqi, vice chairman of the regional People's Congress Standing Committee, presided over the meeting and gave a brief explanation of the items of the agenda. Buetegeqi said: It is hoped that through our hearing and discussing the report on auditing work in Nei Monggol, auditing work will be promoted and will better serve economic structural reform, and planned auditing and supervision over financial and economic management in a selective way and according to law will be realized step by step with the focus on the central task of economic work.

Zhou Beifeng, Seyinbayaer, and Alatanaoqier, vice chairmen of regional People's Congress Standing Committee, attended the meeting. Attending as nonvoting delegates were Bai Junqing, vice chairman of the region; Wang Linzhong, chief procurator of the regional People's Procuratorate; and responsible persons of the regional Higher People's court.

Meeting Concludes

SK040405 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 3 Sep 86

[Excerpts] After successfully fulfilling all agenda items, the 18th Standing Committee meeting of the 6th regional People's Congress ended today.

This meeting heard and discussed a report of the autonomous regional Audit Bureau on the region's auditing work and a report of the regional agricultural committee on implementation of the Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional

Regulations on Forest Management for Trial Use, discussed a report on the proposal for opening livestock insurance business in the pastoral areas, and adopted a decision on the appointment and removal of personnel of the state organs.

This afternoon's meeting was presided over by Seyinbauaer, vice chairman of the regional People's Congress Standing Committee.

While discussing the report on the autonomous region's auditing work, the committee members fully affirmed the work achievements of the regional audit organ since its establishment 2 years ago, and pointed out the favorable conditions for further carrying out auditing work. They held that to supervise auditing work in the course of the four modernizations is a long-term and arduous task. The autonomous region has just made its first step to supervise the auditing work. On the one hand, all departments should create favorable conditions and a good environment for auditing work, and on the other, the audit departments and bureaus should be bold and active to carry out and supervise auditing work in a planned manner and with emphasis on certain points, to make a breakthrough in the work, and to expand the scope of work, thus enabling the autonomous region's auditing work to better serve the regional economic structural reform and economic construction.

Batubagen, chairman of the regional People's Congress Standing Committee, Zhou Beifeng, Alatanaoqier, and Hu Zhongda, vice chairmen of the regional People's Congress Standing Committee, attended the meeting.

Wang Linzhong, chief procurator of the regional People's Procuratorate, and the responsible persons of the regional Higher People's Court attended the meeting as observers.

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CSO: 4005/018

SHANXI GOVERNOR ON LABOR SYSTEM REFORMS

HK121308 Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 11 Sep 86

[Text] Recently the provincial government held a conference on reform of the province's labor system to implement the four provisional regulations formulated by the State Council, namely, instituting the employment contract system in state-run enterprises; reforming the recruiting system, dismissing staff and workers who violate labor discipline; and insurance for the unemployed. At the conference, the participants discussed detailed rules for implementing the four regulations in the province, and arranged work concerning reform of the province's labor system.

Governor Wang Senhao attended the conference and delivered a speech. He said that the crux of the four provisional regulations formulated by the State Council is reform of the recruitment and employment system. Namely, abolishing the system whereby retired workers are replaced by their sons or daughters, abolishing the method of recruiting sons or daughters of staff and workers from within an enterprise; and instituting the system of recruiting staffs and workers through public examinations and giving priority to those with better qualifications and results. In the future, when recruiting new workers, including recruiting workers to replace old ones, state-run enterprises, state organs, institutions, and mass organizations must institute the employment contract system. Enterprises must have the power to dismiss staff and workers who violate discipline. Enterprises may dismiss, according to the relevant regulations, those who seriously violate labor discipline and refuse to mend their ways after being given repeated admonitions and administrative punishment and yet whose offenses are not serious enough to warrant dismissal. Social insurance must be granted to the unemployed to ensure their livelihood.

Governor Wang Senhao stressed that party committees and governments at all levels must fully understand the importance of the current reform of the labor system; put labor reform high on their agenda; treat it as an important task in the last 4 months of this year; and grasp it firmly and effectively. It is necessary to conduct thoroughgoing and painstaking ideological and political work in connection with ideological problems

among staff and workers. We must conduct propaganda and education work to ensure that people truly understand the nature of the labor contract system; the problems of retired workers being replaced by their sons or daughters; recruiting sons or daughters of staff and workers from within an enterprise. We must make them realize that allowing enterprises to dismiss staff and workers who violate discipline serves to enforce labor discipline, to maintain a normal order of production and work, and to protect the interests of staff and workers.

At the conference, the participants seriously discussed and studied the specific rules and measures formulated by the province for implementing the four regulations of the State Council. After approval, these rules and measures will be implemented throughout the province.

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CSO: 4005/018

BRIEFS

CEREMONY FOR DECEASED OFFICIAL--The ash-laying ceremony for Comrade (Yun Beifeng), an outstanding member of the Communist Party of China, a faithful communist fighter, a worthy son of the Monggol nationality, and secretary general of the NPC Nationalities Committee, was ceremoniously held at the auditorium of the Daqingshan Revolutionary Cemetery in Hohhot this morning. Peng Zhen, Ulanhu, Xi Zhongxun, Hu Qiaomu, Chen Pixian, Wei Guoqing, and Deng Liqun, as well as the central organs, Nei Monggol Autonomous regional leading organs, and other relevant departments sent wreaths. The ash-laying ceremony for Comrade (Yun Beifeng) was presided over by Comrade Batubagen. Comrade Seyinbayaer gave an account of Comrade (Yun Beifeng's) life history. [Excerpts] [Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 6 Sep 86] /9604

HEBEI PERSONNEL CHANGES--On 24 and 29 July, and 8 August, the Hebei Provincial People's Government decided to appoint Bai Yulan [2672 3768 5695] as vice chairman of the Hebei Provincial Family Planning Committee; to appoint Zhao Ruitang [6392 3843 1016] as president of the Hebei Agro-technical Normal Institute; to remove Mao Zhijun [3029 1807 0689] from the posts of deputy secretary general of the Hebei Provincial People's Government and deputy director of the Hebei Provincial Foreign Economic Relations and Trade Department; and to remove Zhang Pu [1728 5455] as deputy director of the Hebei Provincial Civil Affairs Department. [Text] [Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 24 Aug 86 p 3] /9604

CSO: 4005/018

COMMENTARY ON CURRENT PLA REFORMS

Taipei CHUNGKUNG YENCHIU [STUDIES ON CHINESE COMMUNISM] in Chinese Vol 20 No 8, 15 Aug 86 pp 72-82

[Article by Tung I [5516 2496]: "Commentary on Several Current Reforms in the Communist Army"]

[Text] I. Foreword

For a long time the Chinese communists' army chieftains have called for "reorganization reforms" of the armed forces, but because of serious factionalism within the communist army, there has been one obstruction after another. In the end, the so-called "reorganization reforms" have been merely a certain new arrangement of important personnel. Their essential significance is only to create conditions for those in power to preserve and consolidate their power. The practice of Deng Xiaoping since he returned to power has been no exception. In 1979, the Chinese communists suffered a defeat in their war against Vietnam. In addition, they put the open-door policy into practice, and came to understand the current situation in the establishment and equipment systems of foreign armies. They deeply felt that the backward situation of the communist army, which had existed for a long time, was unsuitable, and so they began to make efforts to spur the pace of "reforms." The reforms began to take shape after the "enlarged session of the Central Military Commission" of the CPC in June of last year (1985). Except for the system of "party leadership over the army," which did not change in the slightest, fairly big "reforms" were made in other aspects, like the operational command system and the education and training system as well as the war preparedness mobilization system and logistics work. Among them there still exist many problems which are worthy of analysis and inquiry.

II. Intention To Readjust the Operational Command System

In June 1985, at the same time that it announced a 1-million man reduction in military personnel, the communist army readjusted the operational control areas of its "military regions." The "Fuzhou Military Region" was dissolved and incorporated into the "Nanjing Military Region." The "Wuhan Military Region" was dissolved. Its "Henan Provincial Military District" was incorporated into the "Jinan Military Region" and its "Hubei Provincial Military District" was incorporated into the "Guangzhou Military Region." The

"Kunming Military Region" was dissolved and incorporated into the Chengdu Military Region." The "Urumqi Military Region" fell to provincial-level military district status. Its name was changed to "Xinjiang Military District," and it was put under the jurisdiction of the "Lanzhou Military Region." By this readjustment, except for the "large military regions" of "Beijing" and "Shenyang" the depth of defensive operations and the breadth of the defensive frontage of all presently existing "large military regions" were increased. In future interior operations, they will have much room for maneuver, which will be advanatageous for the mobile use of the forces in their subordinate districts. They will have fairly much time to block a hypothetical enemy who launches a large in-depth offensive action, which will be advantageous for transferring mobile strike units in non-combat zones to reinforce the battle. The original 11 "large military regions" have been reconstituted into 9 "large military regions." The reduction in the number of "large military regions" makes them easier to handle under the operational command of the CPC's "Central Military Commission," which is the "supreme command" of the communist army. However, after the disolution of the "Wuhan Military Region," there is a lack of a comprehensive strategic reserve. In the pattern of traditional warfare, this operational deployment should not be suitable, and its success or failure awaits test and verification in actual combat in the future. If the Chinese communists lack a strategic reserve in actual combat in the future, and replace it with strategic nuclear weapons, this will change the nature of the war. For the Chinese communists, this would obviously be disadvantageous.

Three years ago the CPC's "Central Military Commission" made a decision to reconstitute "field armies" into "group armies," blending various service arms into combined arms forces. In the past stage progress in this respect was slow. After June of last year (1985), this reconstitution was speeded up, and at the end of 1985 the Chinese communists announced that it had been completed. After the formation of "group armies" was completed, He Qizong [0149 0366 1350], deputy chief of staff of the communist army, publicly pointed out: "The reconstituting of field armies into 'group armies' was a major result of our army's reform of its establishment system. It indicates that our army has entered a new stage of modernization." He stressed that "after the reconstitution of the units will further improve their weapons and equipment, raise the degree of their combined arms, and strengthen their capability for fast reaction; and the units' establishment system will also be more appropriate." He also said: "The enhanced combining of all service arms, and the consequent questions of how to display the fighting power of the whole and how to strengthen unified command impose higher demands on the quality of commanders, increase the difficulty of training organization, and also raise a series of new problems for the units in political and ideological work and in logistics support work." (1) (Chinese communists' XINHUA News Agency, Peiping dispatch, 31 December 1985)

The abovementioned words of He Qizong show that although the formation of "group armies" in the communist army has been completed, "raising the degree of combined arms and making the establishment system more appropriate," this is only the phenomena on the surface, and the more important "unified command and organization of training" by commanders as well as their quality cannot

match it. For the responsible cadres in these "group armies" of the communist army, combined arms training is something new. The cadres selected to be the commanders of the "group armies" were well-tempered in the 10 years of the "Cultural Revolution," and their level of academic knowledge is obviously low. Therefore, after the formation of all the "group armies" in the communist army, so far there has been no campaign or tactical training of combined arms forces, and this situation has forced the communist army to set up a "Combined Arms Tactical Training Center" with specific responsibilities in the "Nanjing Military Reigon" (2) (XINHUA News Agency, 22 April 1986 Nanjing dispatch) in order that all the "group armies" could go in turn to this center and get tactical training. As for training in campaign operations, a fairly long time of planning and preparation is obviously still required. In the present situation, because the "group armies" lack proper combined arms training and their personnel and equipment cannot display their proper united role, their fighting power is weak.

The communist army's "group armies" are combined arms units, and when they were formed the process involved the reconstitution of the communist army's special arms units. The former independent artillery, antiaircraft artillery, and armored arms were changed from the division and regiment level to the brigade and battalion level and incorporated into the "group army's" system of organization. Other arms, like the signal, engineer, and antichemical warfare, were put under the command of "group armies" at the regiment- and battalion-level system of organization. At the command stratum, the "group army" still corresponds to a field "army"-level unit. Because the special arms were put in the "group army"s' system of organization, the entire operational command system tends to be more convenient than in the past. According to a report in the Chinese communists' JIEFANGJUN BAO, in May of this year the communist army set up a "command automation work center" in Peiping, showing that in its operational command system the communist army is trying to move forward in the direction of "automation." This report stressed that "command automation work centers will be set up in succession at all levels, and the automation of organization command and office work at all levels in the army can be expected to be completed in the period of the "Seventh 5-Year Plan." (3) (Chinese communists' JIEFANGJUN BAO [LIBERATION ARMY DAILY--LAD] 9 May 1986 report) Besides this news reported in the Chinese communists' army newspaper, the Chinese communists' Radio Fujian pointed out: "This work station is responsible for the tasks of sentry duty and protection of the automated command networks at all levels in the army, and for technical support for command and office work automation in headquarters organizations." (4) (Chinese communists' Fujian Radio Station broadcast 20 May 1986) These reports reflect the communist army's exaggerated propaganda about this success. However it remains doubtful whether the command personnel at all levels in the communist army will have the degree of skill needed for this type of technology as well as be able to effectively coordinate it with actual operational command.

III. Changes in Education and Training System

As early as 1977, Deng Xiaoping said that the communist army's education and training must be raised to a "strategic position." Afterward, the communist army took certain measures for "reform" in this field, but they were still in

the "small" category. Only after the "enlarged session of the Central Military Commission" in June of last year (1985) was a determined push given to the "reform" movement. In October of the same year, the Chinese communists' "General Staff Department" held an "all-army conference on training." The conference stressed that from now on training must adapt to the strategic change in the guiding idea behind the building of the communist army, and that prominence must be given to "reforms" during the new year's training. It also called for the development and stockpiling of talented persons for building the communist army and for preparing against war through the two channels of academy training and unit training. (5) (LAD 24 October 1985 report) Therefore, the communist army took the following measures in academy education and unit training.

A. Reorganization of the Academy Education System

1. First, the communist army's "Military Academy," "Political Academy," and "Logistics Academy" were merged into the "National Defense University." In answering reporters' questions, Zhang Zhen [1728 7201], commandant, and Li Desheng [2621 1795 3932], political commissar, of the "National Defense University," said: "The establishment of the National Defense University was an important decision based on the new situation and tasks." They also said: "At present a new technological revolution is rising on a worldwide scale, and military science and technology are changing with each passing day. There already have been and there will continue to be a series of major changes in strategy and tactics. Modern warfare requires that the high-level commanders of our army be 'very knowledgable and very capable,' and become all-around talents with strategic minds and the capability for commanding combined arms operations, and who are able to command comprehensively military, political, and logistics work. The leading cadres of the state's relevant departments also must possess knowledge about national defense modernization. Our army's training system for high-level cadres must adapt to the demands of this new situation." (6) (XINHUA News Agency, 18 December 1986 Peiping dispatch) Also, according to what has been disclosed, the mission of the communist army's "National Defense University" is "to train military, political, and logistics command cadres at the army level and above, high-level staff personnel, and high-level theoretical research personnel of the communist army's Army, Navy, and Air Force; and leading cadres of the state's relevant departments. Its mission is also to do research on relevant questions of strategy and questions of national defense modernization in order to play an advisory role in the policy decision-making of the Military Commission and the General Headquarters." The university has decided to enroll students in the summer vacation time and to begin its first term on 1 September. (7) (Ibid (6))

2. An "all-army academy conference" was held to discuss the question of "reforming" education in the armed forces' academies. In February of this year, the communist army held its 10-day 13th "all-army academy conference," at which Yang Dezhi [2799 1779 1807], director of the communist army's General Staff Department, declared: "The strategic change in the education in armed forces' academies truly switches the guiding idea behind the running of academies in the direction of orienting towards modernization, the world, and the future, developing the talents needed now, and what is more making good

preparations in talents for the building and development of the army in the nineties to the early years of the next century." (8) (Chinese communists' RENMIN RIBAO 27 February 1986 report) Yu Qiuli [0151 4428 6849], director of the communist army's "General Political Department," also spoke at the conference. He stressed that "the fundamental aim in strengthening the building of the armed forces' academies is to improve the army's quality and develop talented persons with good military and political quality. The political quality of the cadres is primary and fundamental." He also said: "The reason we emphasize attaching importance to the political quality of the students is, in accordance with the party's consistent policy, to uphold the unity of red and expert by developing in a comprehensive manner talented persons morally, intellectually, and physically. We do not only stress politics, and not stress other things; we also do not indulge in empty talk about politics separate from military affairs and specialized skills." (9) (XINHUA News Agency 26 February 1986 Peiping dispatch) After Yu Qiuli's speech was released by the Chinese communists' XINHUA News Agency, the 27 February RENMIN RIBAO's report of it deleted the sentence "the political quality of the cadres is primary and fundamental." The main reason for the deletion was that this sentence puts "red" ahead of "expert" and conflicts with the cadre policy currently boosted by the communist army of making cadres "professionally more competent" and "better educated." From this it is not difficult to see that the struggle of contradiction between "red" and "expert," between "revolutionization" and "modernization," which has existed for a long time in the Chinese communists' armed forces, has not died down or slowed down because of any "shift in strategy" or "reform and streamlining." Li Peng [2621 7720], vice premier of the Chinese communists' "State Council," also spoke at the conference in his capacity as the minister in charge of the "State Education Commission." He said that the "armed forces" academies must persist in the direction of reform, courageously explore, and take the new path of developing military education that conforms to the national condition and possesses our army's special features." (10) (XINHUA News Agency 25 February 1986 Peiping dispatch) In fact, the great majority of our 1 billion compatriots on the mainland love peace, and the pursuit of "violent revolution" by the communist army is a case of "trying to go south by driving the chariot north"--acting in a way that defeats one's purpose--and of running in the opposite direction. The Chinese communists are not at all qualified to speak about any "national condition," so how can they explore any new path?!

3. In May of this year, the CPC's "Military Commission" made the decision to "reform the education in the armed forces' academies." According to what has been revealed, the focus of its "reform" is to arrange the system smoothly; perfect the three-level--primary, middle, and high--training system of command academies; and perfect the two types--middle- and high-level--of special technical academies and their faculty structure." The main points are:

a. Readjustment of the training administrative levels for commanding officers. The primary-level command academies will emphasize education in military affairs, politics, and basic culture, emphasizing the training of commanding officers for platoon posts. The middle-level command academies will provide education of an advanced nature, emphasizing the training of commanding officers for regimental posts. The high-level command academies will provide

comprehensive education at the highest level, emphasizing the training of high-level commanding officers.

b. Perfection of the system for training officers in special skills, with the focus on developing talented persons at the technical secondary school and college levels.

c. Test-running of a number of academies of a comprehensive nature, in which there is joint training of military, political, and logistics commanding officers. In them there is joint training of officers in command management and techniques to strengthen the officers' ability to adapt to changed work posts.

d. Graded development of education for graduate students, mainly developing high-level teachers, scientific researchers, and specialized technicians. As much as possible this is to be integrated with the training of officers for taking on new posts. The academies will also, by various ways such as correspondence school education, create conditions for in-service study by officers.

e. Planned preparation for establishing training organizations for noncommissioned officers.

The "decision" also said that the armed forces' academies must put the open-door policy in effect in running the academies. There is to be widespread interchange and coordination among the armed forces' academies and between them and local schools. With the approval of the CPC's "Military Commission," there will be established relations of friendly intercourse by the "open-door" academies with the academies of foreign armies. (11) (XINHUA News Agency 19 June 1986 Peiping dispatch)

4. A number of newly established "new-type" academies. Based on disclosures by the Chinese communists, during the "reform of its system" the communist army has established a number of "new-type" academies, which are now enrolling students and will start their terms on 1 September. According to reports, there are several dozen of these "new-type" academies, including the "Army Command Academy." "Military Education Academy," "Military Economics Academy," and "Information Engineering Academy." Also, the communist army has established the first batch of "noncommissioned officer schools," and two of them are being run on a trial basis this year. In 42 "officer schools" noncommissioned officer classes will be run on a trial basis, and will mainly enroll and train noncommissioned officers to be company quartermasters, radio station chiefs, and technicians. The communist army also says that this is a major "reform" of the armed forces' academy systems. (12) (Ibid (11))

In January of this year, the Chinese communists' JIEFANGJUN BAO reported, "The streamlining and reorganization of the army's academies, the people's armed forces departments, and the logistics support system, which began this year, is expected to be completed by the end of the year." (13) (LAD 1 January 1986 report) At the end of June this year, the Chinese communists' XINHUA News Agency reported: "The streamlining and reorganization of the academies is preceeding smoothly. Based on the Central Military Commission's decision,

readjustments have been made in the academy system. Some academies have been deactivated and merged, and personnel have been trained to a high degree of proficiency. In the entire army, 12 percent of the number of academies have been cut and more than 20 percent of the number of personnel have been cut." (14) (XINHUA News Agency 28 June 1986 Peiping dispatch, and Chinese communists' Central Radio Station 30 June 1986 broadcast) From a look at available data, the number of academies and personnel in the communist army has been cut. Actually we only see that the communist army has merged three academies--the military, political, and logistics academies--into the "National Defense University" and has established several dozen "new-type" academies. Under the circumstances in which the communist army is vigorously training cadres, taking academic research seriously, and elevating the knowledge and ability of cadres with specialized skills, even if it is possible to streamline the academies there are difficulties in cutting the number of personnel. I judge that the reason for the abovementioned reported cutting of the number of academies and personnel was to meet the requirements for "streamlining and organization." Under the premise of "streamlining and reorganization" they can only make such reports. To provide the teaching personnel needed for the reorganization of the military academies, it is possible that there will be a cut in the first half of this year and then an addition in the second half of it, and the number to be added cannot be publicly reported in the years of "streamlining and organization." The fact that the communist army has added "new-type" academies and some specialized technical academies, and also that it is setting up a "noncommissioned officer system," shows that it is forging ahead along the path of cadre "specialization." However, the establishment of this type of academy entails its possession of the related excellent teachers. This is the principal difficult problem for this type of specialized and higher academy, and is also the key to whether the academy educators of the future will be able to be really effective. Under the current circumstances in which the knowledge and ability of the ordinary cadre lags behind, it should be the most difficult problem for the communist army's academy education.

B. Continuing "Reform" of Unit Training

The "reform" of the training of the communist army's units has been going on for a year. To promote training reform, cadres at all levels in the communist army have, under the strong pressure of the idea that "reform is revolution," used their brains and done a lot of thinking. No matter whether in training plans, training reforms, or training content, they have striven for novelty and change, so that there is the joke that the first, second, and third items in the original training outline have been reversed to the third, second, and first items and called "pioneering work in reform." Afterward, there appeared many unhealthy trends and evil practices or practicing fraud and deception and of "writing superficial articles." Therefore, in the communist army's training "reforms," in these years it has not yet been possible to come up with a set of specific, effective models and standards. The "all-army military training conference," which the Chinese communists held in October of last year, stressed that "in next year's training prominence must be given to reforms," ignoring the question of whether the communist army could make any breakthroughs in training reform this year. However, since the "all-army

military training conference" some different types of changes in the communist army's unit training practices have been discovered.

1. The formation of "recruit coaching regiments" in army units: Yang Dezhi, the communist army's chief of staff, once said: "The coaching regiment is something new," "the formation of the coaching regiment is a major reform in our army's training system." It first began as an experiment by a certain division in the Chinese communists' "Nanjing Military Region," after which all "group armies" in succession formed "recruit coaching regiments," and at the same time began to give concentrated training to recruits who joined the army at the end of last year (1985). According to a disclosure by the Chinese communists' JIEFANGJUN BAO: "After the establishment of recruit coaching regiments, the past situation in which the army units' operational system and training system were joined into one was changed; and the situation in which every year, after the recruits joined the army, the units' training could only start with the individual soldier, the veteran soldiers year after year were tied to the recruits' '1-year level,' and the units' training always went in cycles at a low-level stage, was changed. The formation of recruit coaching regiments has separated the recruit training from the units' training as a whole, and the starting point in the training of operational units can be raised." (15) (LAD 31 October 1985 report) This was the first idea, but in the first session of recruit training, the division, through tracking and investigating the education and training of the recruits, discovered that some of the training equipment and materials of the "coaching regiment" were inferior to those existing in the units, and that, after the recruits were put into the units, they had to be trained with the units' new equipment, a situation which adversely affected the progress and results of the units' training as a whole. (16) (LAD 20 May 1986 report)

For the tasks of the communist army's "recruit coaching regiments," when the regiment of the "Nanjing Military Region" was conducting its experiment, three tasks were set forth--training recruits, training backbone elements, and training technical talents for civilian use. However, after the 4-month first stage of recruit training, the communist army defined the tasks of the coaching regiments as: In practice, concentrate on training recruits and preselected squad leaders. In wartime, prepare to carry out operational missions. (17) (LAD 17 April 1986 report) It is not known whether, after many reviews of the training in the future, there will be any changes in their tasks.

With regard to the results of the first stage of recruit training in the "recruit coaching regiments," the communist army once held an "all-army on-the-spot meeting on coaching regiments," (18) (LAD 26 April 1986 report) which made an on-the-spot check on the degree of recruit training. Reviewing the many problems that still exist, some army cadres have misgivings about this kind of training. Because of the uneven quality of the cadres at all levels in the "coaching regiments," there exists a big gap in their conditions and those of the operational units. In particular, the unhealthy tendency of cadres in "coaching regiments" to openly want money, goods, and presents from the recruits has a serious adverse effect on the recruits' training results. According to a report by the Chinese communists' JIEFANGJUN BAO in February of this year: "In the most recent period, some fighters have complained, either

by writing letters to this newspaper office or telling their families, that if they don't give presents they cannot get things done. Their visits to home, attendance in schools, study of skills, awards for meritorious service, change to volunteer status, admission into the party, and so forth should be handled in accordance to prescribed regulations. Now they must 'build bridges with tobacco and liquor' and 'pave the way with special products.' When some fighters enter the ranks they write letters to their families asking for tobacco and liquor to give as presents to the cadres." The report added: "This situation shows that the principle of commodity exchange has really made incursions into the relationship between officers and men in the companies." The cadres' prestige has been damaged, and the fighters' souls have been corrupted. The glorious image of our army among the masses of people has also been tarnished." (19) (LAD 21 February 1986 report) This not only is shown in the improper work style of cadres in "recruit coaching regiments," but also includes the improper work style of cadres of ordinary field units. The Chinese communists' army newspapers also said that the "recruit coaching regiments" exchanged the recruits' overcoats and pocketed the recruits' mess money and food coupons. Some of them without authorization make "local policies" under which at every turn they fine recruits to get money for themselves. Some of them directly approach the recruits to get them to spend money on buying things for the cadres. Some of them, without authorization, take the money sent to the recruits by their families. What kind of pattern will this kind of "coaching reqiment" teach the recruits? No wonder that some recruits say with feeling: "It was truly a disappointment to find out that the units were like this." Some of them said: "Wait until I become a veteran squad leader. I'll treat recruits in the same way." (20) (LAD 22 February 1986 report) The true results of this reform by the communist army are obviously more on the negative side than the positive.

2. Establishment of a "combined arms tactical training center" to train in rotation and in a careful fashion the units of all "group armies." In April of this year, the Chinese communists announced to the outside world, "The first combined arms tactical training center has been established in the 'Nanjing Military Region.'" (21) (Central Radio Station 22 February 1986 broadcast) According to a report by the Chinese communists, "this training center is a comprehensive training base, and it is a new training base that opens up the way to adapt to the system after the field armies have been changed to group armies. The units of all group armies from now on will in turn receive operational training in it." (22) (Ibid (2)) This system-type training site will train units of all group armies, which have different establishments and equipment, and especially train "group armies" whose operational areas differ in terrain and weather and whose missions are different. The operational mode they will probably adopt in the future will not be completely identical, and the circumstances of their receiving training of the same pattern will make it difficult for them to meet actual requirements. This problem will certainly be discovered in their future training practice.

3. Concentrated training of flyers by the Air Force. According to an assertion by the Chinese communists, "the Air Force's first new flyer training division has formally begun training. This is also the first time that new flyers who have graduated from ordinary schools have received concentrated

training in one division. This is a big breakthrough in the Air Force's reform of its training system." (23) (Central Radio Station 16 June 1986 broadcast) Air Force personnel who have already graduated from the Chinese communists' flight schools should have completed their basic flight training, so why would they still have to undergo concentrated flight training of a centralized nature? Obviously, the reason is that the flight school training was not suited to the flight operations of various aircraft models with different performances. This report by the Chinese communists did not make it clear whether this "new flyer training division" gives training in only one aircraft model or in many. If the former is the case, the communist army will have to set up many "new flyer training divisions" to give separate training in flying all the different aircraft models. If the latter is the case, the situation will be similar to that of the Army's "recruit coaching regiment," and no matter what aircraft model it is, the new flyers will have to be trained in this "new flyer training division," so how would it be different in nature from a "flight school"? In this "breakthrough" in the training "reform" of the communist army's Air Force, there are bound to exist many problems. The substantive results in future training and the effect produced on the operational training of the original Air Force divisions (those divisions that were responsible for new flyer training)--this is a problem that the communist army did not consider when only seeking a "breakthrough."

4. Navy's first use of formation training in ocean-going navigation. For a long time the units of the Chinese communists' Navy have made operational training in offshore defense primary. There could be changes in their training topics, modes, and content, but their operational capability remained limited to the offshore range. According to a recent report by the Chinese communists, from the middle to the end of May, an ocean-going joint formation, composed of many service arms and many ships, of the "North Sea Fleet" carried out training in ocean-going coordinated operations in the northwest Pacific Ocean. The report said this was a "bold attempt." (24) (Chinese communists' Shanghai Radio Station 10 June 1986 broadcast, and Central Radio Station 21 June 1986 broadcast)

If this report by the Chinese communists is true, it shows that their Navy considers this to be a "breakthrough" in training reform. However, the "summation meeting" held by the "North Sea Fleet" after the event did not mention its degree of suitability for ocean-going operations and the defects that appeared. The fact that the Chinese communists publicly reported on this even to the outside world many times shows that the purpose of the ocean-going voyage was political propaganda and that the so-called "training reform" was secondary.

IV. Reform of the System of War Preparedness Mobilization

Because the communist army has "switched its idea of preparing for the contingency of an early and large-scale war to building the armed forces in a period of peace" and focuses its current work on "supporting "economic construction," there has appeared a sparse situation in its operational units' ideas and actions in preparedness against war. To make up for this defect, the communist army has taken a series of measures in its system of war preparedness mobilization, the specific practices of which include:

A. Formation of Reserve Duty Units. In May 1984, the Chinese communists' Second Session of the Sixth NPC passed a new "military service law," which proposed the establishment of a "system of combining militia and reserve duty."

Yang Dezhi, the Chinese communists' chief of staff, in a talk explaining the revision of the "military service law," clearly stated: "The purpose of combining militia and reserve duty and establishing a sound system for officers and noncommissioned reserve duty is to maintain fewer troops in peacetime and to dispatch more troops in wartime. This is a major strategic measure, and it is of major significance for both national defense construction and economic construction." However, in the past 2 years, the formation of reserve-duty units by all the provinces, cities, and prefectures has not been vigorous. After the "enlarged session of the Military Commission" in June of last year (1985), there were fairly many reports of such formations of reserve duty units, but up to now, the formation of reserve duty units in various parts of the mainland has not been comprehensive. Based on observation of the formation of a reserve-duty division in Zhuzhou City, Henan, (25) (Chinese communists' Hunan Radio Station 2 November 1986 broadcast) and the formation of a reserve duty regiment in Fengcheng County, Jianxi, (26) (Chinese communists' Jiangxi Radio Station 10 December 1985 broadcast) the Chinese communists are establishing division-level reserve duty units in cities and prefectures directly under the province, and establishing regiment-level reserve duty units in counties of cities and prefectures. The commander of Zhuzhou's Army reserve duty division is concurrently the commander of Zhuzhou Military Subdistrict, a fact which is sufficient to prove the military subordination of reserve duty units. In the Chinese communists' work of switching the county (city) people's armed forces departments to the local system of organization in the first half of this year, there has not yet been discovered any newly built reserve duty units. The "national forum on city militia," held in Peiping in May of this year, only discussed the leadership system, work methods, formation, and training of militia work, and did not bring up the question of combining it with reserve duty. (27) (XINHUA News Agency 21 May 1986 Peiping dispatch) This seems to show that there are obstacles to the formation of reserve duty units.

B. Giving Students Military Training. The provision to this effect was an important part of the newly revised "military service law" of 1984. Yang Dezhi, the communist army's chief of staff, has pointed out that the military training of students is an important aspect in strengthening the building of reserve forces. He also said: "The military training of students of institutions of higher education is divided into two types. One type is basic military training for the students in which they study general military skills and enhance their concept of national defense; the other type is the training of reserve officers to be a supplementary source of officers in wartime." This is sufficient to prove that the military training of students by the Chinese communists is an important measure for their war preparedness mobilization. In May of last year (1985), the Chinese communists' "Ministry of Education" and the communist army's "General Staff Department" and "General Political Department" held a "national work conference on student military training experimental points." The conferees decided that, beginning in

September 1985, 52 institutions of higher education and 102 senior middle schools on the mainland would be experimental-point units for military training and that military training would be a required course for the students. There are 13 subjects, including military thought, modern military science, training in firing light weapons, principles of platoon and company tactics, and wartime mobilization. (28) (XINHUA News Agency 29 May 1985 Peiping dispatch) In the second half of 1985, it was discovered that the institutions of higher education and the senior middle schools in various places were separately carrying out experimental-point work on military training. Up to April of this year, there were still reports of this type of military training experimental-point situations in various places. However, in many areas the communist army's "military region" there or its units stationed there send military cadres to teach the military subjects. Obviously, this is a divergence from the original intent of the provisions of the Chinese communists' "military service law." (Note: Article 44 of the Chinese communists' new "military service law" stipulates that the military training organizations of the institutions of higher education are to allocate military instructors and to organize and give military training to students. Article 45 stipulates that senior middle schools or equivalent schools are to allocate military instructors and give students military training.) This phenomenon is not because the work of schools at all levels in allocating military instructors has not been completed, but because the communist army is making use of this opportunity to get involved in the education and training in the schools. This is no different than the communist army's practice of the so-called "three supports and two militaries" during the "Cultural Revolution," when it exerted "military control and military training" on organizations and schools, but its implied substantive effects are still worth noting. In June of this year, it was discovered that in some areas the Communist army had organized the running of "summer camps" for middle school students (29) (Chinese communists' Zhejiang Radio Station 15 June 1986 broadcast and Central Radio Station 16 July 1986 broadcast), and this is obviously an action related to the communist army's involvement with student military training at all levels. With the schools' education and the students' life being subjected to control by units of the army stationed locally, the schools' normal education and their necessary extracurricular activities are bound to be adversely affected.

C. Reversion of the County (City) People's Armed Forces Departments to the Local System of Organization. The main mission of the Chinese communists' "people's armed forces departments " at all levels is military service and mobilization work. Currently, the so-called "building of national reserves" in the Chinese communists' promotion of "combining militia and reserve duty" is one of their principal duties. The Chinese communists have said: "The switching of people's armed forces departments to the local system of organization is a major reform in the system of people's armed forces work (30) (Chinese communists' Shandong Radio Station 23 May 1986 broadcast), "and it further strengthens the party's control over the armed forces, and builds closer relations between the relevant local departments and the people's armed forces departments." (31) (Chinese communists' Anhui Radio Station 25 May 1986 broadcast) It was also held that "this reform would be advantageous for strengthening the construction of national defense reserve force and for

promoting the development of economic construction." (32) (Chinese communists' Guangdong Radio Station 4 March 1986 broadcast)

In February of this year, the "CPC," "State Council," and "Central Military Commission" issued "Regulations on Relevant Questions After the Switchover of County (City) People's Armed Forces Departments to the Local System of Organization," which pointed out that "after the people's armed forces departments are switched to the local system of organization, the duties of their staff members in the local establishment will not change, and they will exercise dual leadership in the localities and the armed forces." It was stipulated that "the staff of people's armed forces departments are reserve officers of the army, and the wage standards and welfare treatment for the cadres and staff are set in accordance with the standards of local public security cadres and police and public security staff and with the regulations." With respect to their time for handing over and taking over, it was stipulated that "people's armed forces in the interior are to complete the transfer before the end of June 1986; with regard to people's armed forces departments or the first line of land or sea border defense, with the exception of those whose transfer is postponed, the transfer is to be completed before the beginning of 1986." (33) (XINHUA News Agency 8 February 1986 Peiping dispatch) According to reports, as of the end of June, with the exception of the Xinjiang region, all county (city) people's armed forces departments had completed their transfer to the localities according to plan. It was also said: "After the people's armed forces departments were switched to the localities, they became both military departments of the local 'party committee' at the same level and military service organizations of the 'people's government' at the same level. Focusing on the new situation of the change in system of organization for the people's armed forces departments, military departments at all levels have in succession run training classes for people's armed forces department cadres." (34) (XINHUA News Agency 6 July 1986 Peiping dispatch) Materials show that when the Chinese communists first drew up the plan for switching county (city) people's armed forces departments to the local system of organization, there were serious fluctuations in the thinking of the staffs of the people's armed forces departments. Most of them thought that the number of core members of the militia would be reduced, the training task would be cut down, and some weapons would be sealed up for safekeeping, and that it would be a case of "putting the weapons back in the arsenal and grazing the war horses on the hillside"--relaxing vigilance against war. (35) (Ibid (32)). This sluggish idea appearing among the cadres of the people's armed forces departments, and the fact that many newly appointed cadres of people's armed forces departments would be new men, will certainly be detrimental to the promotion of overall war preparedness mobilization in the future. The Chinese communists' original desire, under the circumstances in which the idea of war preparedness was sparse in the operational units, was to make up this defect by "reforming" the war preparedness mobilization system, but it looks as if this idea of the Chinese communists will fail. The Chinese communists call on the localities to manage the cadres of the "people's armed forces departments" in line with the communist army's rules and regulations, something which is even more inconceivable. What is meant by the "party controlling the armed forces" is control of a policy nature, not administrative control. This idea of a "local government" managing a "people's armed forces department," which is a military

unit, by administrative means is bound to cause a situation in which the more control there is the more disorder there is: in the end the so-called "dual leadership" could turn into a situation of unmanned leadership, and the future work of the "people's armed forces departments" will be weakened, not strengthened.

V. Malpractices Derived From Logistics Reform

Although "reform" of the communist army's logistics has been promoted for many years, the results have not been outstanding. As Hong Xuezhi [3163 1331 2535], director of the communists army's "General Logistics Department," pointed out in 1984 in a special article published by the Chinese communists' JIEFANGJUN BAO: The most fundamental reason that results have not been seen in the "reform" of the army's logistics is that there is no clear idea and theory about modern logistics to act as a guide, and there exist blindness and wilfullness. (36) (LAD 15 July 1984 report) In recent years the Chinese communists have promoted some measures for logistics "reform," but an analysis shows that there still exist many errors and malpractices.

A. Establishment of the General Logistics Department's Base Command Post: According to a report by the Chinese communists in October 1985: "Based on an order by the Central Military Commission, a Base Command Post of the communist army's General Logistics Department for the unified leadership and management of all the army's strategic rear area warehouses has been established in Wuhan." In a speech at the inaugural meeting, Hong Xuezhi, director of the communist army's "General Logistics Department," pointed out: "The establishment of the Base Command Post for unifying the leadership and management of all the strategic rear warehouses in the army is of important significance for implementing and stockpiling and supplying, at the three levels--strategic, campaign, and tactical; managing the system; improving logistics supply capabilities; and meeting the army's need for modernization, regularization, and a future war against aggression." He also said: "The principal missions of the Base Command Post and its subordinate bases and warehouses are, in peacetime, to manage well the strategic stockpiled materiel and to supply some units, in wartime, to provide logistic strategic support to all war zones." (37) (LAD 19 October 1985 report) In peacetime, the communist army's practice of graded, concentrated stockpiling and management of logistic materiel is fairly convenient. However, in wartime the concentrated stockpiling of strategic materiel has the defect of incurring destruction en masse. After the communist army deactivated the "Wuhan Military Region" and set up the Base Cammand Post of the General Logistics Department, it had in mind the idea of replacing strategic reserve forces with strategic materiel. Obviously, the mobility of strategic materiel is not as flexible as that of the armed forces, and if the stockpiles cannot be dispersed it will be fairly difficult to display the mobility for effective support of the emergency needs of all the war zones.

B. In the administration and control of production, there are still many oversights: In October 1984, at the same time that the "3d Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee" of the CPC decided to promote the "reform of the urban economic system," Deng Xiaoping called on the communist army's units to subordinate themselves to the overall situation in "economic construction" and

to vigorously support economic construction. With the slogan of supporting and serving "economic construction," the armed forces have engaged in business and trade activities in a big way, creating the strange phenomena of "neither being military nor commercial" and "military and commerce forming an organic whole." To correct this improper situation, the three general departments of the communist army in May 1985 formulated and issued "Provisional Regulations for the Armed Forces Engaged in Business and Foreign Trade." The regulations required that the communist army's units abide by the "policies, decrees, and discipline of the party, state, and the armed forces when engaging in production and business and in foreign trade. They also clearly point out those illegal businesses and trade activities that are strictly forbidden and those that are not permitted must not be done. (38) (LAD 16 May 1985 report) Afterward the business and profit-making activities of all organizations and units in the communist army went underground and ran rampant as before. A situation appeared in which "orders were not carried out and practices that were forbidden did not stop." In the armed forces this kind of disobedience is serious. In March of this year, the CPC's "Central Military Commission" decided to set up an "all-army leading group for the inspection of financial and economic discipline" with Hong Xuezhi, director of the "General Logistics Department" as the group's leader and Guo Linxiang [6753 2651 4382], deputy director of the department, as the group's deputy leader, which would inspect financial and economic discipline in the communist army. Hong Xuezhi said: "it will inspect and strengthen our army's logistic construction." (39) (XINHUA News Agency 11 March 1986 Peiping dispatch) At an "inspection report-back meeting" in June of this year, it was admitted that "some problems had been uncovered" and that the "area of involvement was wide." (40) (XINHUA News Agency 16 June 1986 Peiping dispatch) During its financial inspection, the "Lanzhou Military Region" deactivated or reformed 28 commercial companies. (41) (Chinese communists' Gansu Radio Station 21 July 1986 broadcast) Of the 23 companies run in it, the "Sichuan Provincial Military District" has deactivated 16 and is putting 7 in order. (42) (Chinese communists' Sichuan Radio Station 27 July 1986 broadcast) After a lot of "reform" measures in the communist army's logistics departments, there are still appearing this or that kind of error and malpractice, and the results of the "reforms" are not yet apparent.

C. Logistics warehouses put into practice "Reserve Duty Soldier" system: In March of this year, the communist army's "Base Command Post of the General Logistics Department" in Wuhan convened a meeting of "leaders" of the units in the logistics system at the regimental level and above to discuss questions concerning the putting into practice by warehouses of the "reserve duty soldier" system. According to the Chinese communists': "The putting into practice by warehouses of the 'reserve duty soldier' system was a strategic decision made by the CPC's 'Central Military Commission' to strengthen warehouse construction, and was also a major reform of the Army's cadre system in warehouses." (43) (Chinese communists' Hubei Radio Station 26 March 1986 broadcast) The reserve duty system put into practice for management personnel of the warehouses of the communist army's logistics departments changes their status from active duty to reserve duty, so that the number of active duty personnel in the communist army is reduced but the actual number of working personnel does not change. In this way the communist army's "streamlining and organization" creates a false impression in logistics departments, and it

could be said to be a deceptive trick that "steals the sky and puts up a sham sun"--perpetrates a gigantic fraud--in the Chinese communists' cut in the number of military personnel. The treatment, promotion and transfer, and prestige of personnel who have been changed from active duty status to reserve duty status will be different from those of personnel on active duty. It will certainly directly affect their work morale and be detrimental to the promotion of logistic supply work. In particular, it will increase the distance in the relationship between questions concerning logistics work personnel and active service personnel of the armed services, and should not be considered a wise practice that pays full attention to logistics work.

VI. Comprehensive Comment and Analysis

A. Although "reform" work in the Chinese communist armed forces has been going on for many years its scale of promotion is just as Xiang Shouzhi [0686 1343 1807], commander of the Chinese communists' "Nanjing Military Region, " said at a "forum" after the "enlarged session of the Military Commission" of the CPC in June 1985: "The reform of the system, the streamlining and reorganization, and the cut of 1 million military personnel can be said to have opened a breach in reform." (44) (LAD 27 March 1986 report) This "breach" that was opened when Deng Xiaoping, while announcing the 1 million cut in military personnel, replaced the comrades of several "large military regions" and merged some "large military regions," and half of the 1 million military personnel which were cut were cadres of the communist army. Obviously, these military cadres who have been cut are certainly not what the Chinese communists call the "three types of people" (45) (The "three types of people" are: 1) those who thrived by rebelling and closely following the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing gangs; 2) those who are seriously factionalist in their ideas; and 3) those who beat, smashed, and looted during the Cultural Revolution.), but they are bound to be anti-Dengist figures who oppose and impede "reform." On the pretext of carrying on "traditions" and affirming past "experience," toward all "reforms" if they were not slow in reacting they waited and looked on with an indifferent attitude. In recent years, after the gradual removal of this type of military cadre, the pace of "reform" has advanced. However, from an observation of the "reform" measures recently promoted, one can only say that they are still more form than substance. In the communist army units, no specific results in raising the tangible combat power can yet be seen.

B. The "reform" of the Chinese communists' armed forces is part of their overall "reform." However, the armed forces' strategic and tactical thought is inappropriate, and their system of establishment and equipment is inadequate to meet the needs of modern warfare, a situation that is the exciting cause impelling the communist army to take the path of "reform." At the same time, conservative, outworn military viewpoints are blocking the development of all "reform" measures in the communist army. However, the communist army is intensifying its research on military academic ideas in recognition of the fact that on the battlefield of the future "information, electronics, and space will be dominant," and it is beginning to take steps in the direction of "automation" in its operational command system. Understanding that the characteristics of modern offensive operations are to be "large in depth and high in three dimensions," the communist army has

widened the frontage of the operational zones in its "large military regions" and is expanding in the direction of making them large in depth. It is also stressing the formation of combined arms "group armies" in an effort to display the comprehensive combat power of all its service arms. It is also striving to coordinate academy education and unit training, which shows that, in course of their "reform" of the armed forces, the Chinese communists are drawing up plans in the two aspects of changing their guiding idea for strategy and elevating their tangible military power. Although at present the specific results have not been marked, developments in the future are worth serious attention.

C. When promoting the activities of "military training in schools," the Chinese communists do not, according to regulations, have military instructors in the schools do this work, but rather send military cadres from the units stationed in the locale to the schools to give the training. The armed forces also directly arrange "summer camp" activities for school students, similar to the "military control" and "military training" during the "three supports and two militaries" practiced by the communist army during the "Cultural Revolution." In comprehensively supporting the Chinese communists' activities in "economic construction," the communist army in the rural areas is supporting the various types of the production responsibility system among the peasants; and in the cities, important places, and important areas, it is supporting various types of engineering and communications construction. In the rural areas, factories and mines, residential districts, stores, and schools "army-people joint building" activities are again being launched, both "supporting industry" and "supporting agriculture." It also supports the "reform faction." All of this makes it hard to strictly distinguish this practice from the practice of the "three supports and two militaries" during the "Cultural Revolution," which Deng Xiaoping once severely criticized. Under the circumstances in which the Chinese communists exercise centralized rule, the communist army at any period must play a critical role, but the people on the mainland are not satisfied with this. Now, the people in some areas feel that the communist army has "added to the trouble" of the localities, and there exists the idea of "casting off the burden," (46) (XINHUA News Agency 23 July 1986 Changsha dispatch) which worsens "army-government" and "army-people" relations. The "army cherishes the people" and "people support the army" activites, which the Chinese communists regularly promote, in fact reflect a relationship between the one and the other of "not cherishing" and "not supporting."

D. The Chinese communists do not admit that the current corruption in the "party style," "army style," and "social mood" is caused by the "reforms," (47) (RENMIN RIBAO 7 July 1986 Yu Qiuli's speech at "report-back meeting on correction of party style and party consolidation throughout the army.") mainly out of fear that the communist cadres and the people on the mainland will lose faith in "reform." However, data prove that currently the many instances of graft, corruption, and crimes on the mainland are directly connected to the "reforms." Especially in the armed forces' business and profit seeking there is a serious situation of practicing fraud and deception so that "orders are not carried out and prohibited practices are not stopped." Admittedly there are many background factors in this situation, but the direct cause still stems from the "reforms." Because of "the streamlining and

reorganiztion and the reform of the system," the number of military personnel has been cut. There widely exists among the communist army's cadres an unease about the passive mood in the unit's work. Because there also exists an unease among the "leading" cadres at the regiment level and above in the communist army about the lack of "revolutionary" dedication in the units' work, the Chinese communists' JIEFANGJUN BAO has set forth the demand that the "branches not move." The general idea of this article in the newspaper is that the unstable morale of basic-level cadres is a case of the "leaves moving" and that the unease of the "leading" cadres at the regiment level and above is a case of the "branches moving." (48) (LAD 20 May 1986 report) In fact, the "roots" of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought were shaken long ago, and the "movement" of "the trunk and the branches" was inevitable. Of course, this is not something that one demand by the communist army can change.

VII. Conclusion

Since the "enlarged session of the Central Military Commission" of the CPC in June 1985, although the Chinese communists have accelerated the pace of "reforms" in the armed forces and have done some work in this respect, with the communist army being used to the habits and characteristics of "reporting only good, not bad news and practicing fraud and deception," corrupt practices run wild in reform work. In particular, the Chinese communists are stressing that the present time is a "peaceful period of building the armed forces," and that the communist army follows and serves the overall situation in "economic construction." With the creation of few ideas about war preparedness in the communist army, the mood of any cadres to leave the armed forces has grown, already seriously affecting the effective promotion of all "reform" measures in the Chinese communists' armed forces. The biggest problem is that, in this "reform" the Chinese communists cannot come up with a systematic theory of military strategy to act as a guide. This especially increases the obstructions and tortuousness in the course of "reform." Therefore, even if the Chinese communists have put forward several reforms for the armed forces and have carried them out with an intense publicity campaign, the probability of their success is doubtful.

9727
CSO: 4005/942

BRIEFS

FRENCH NAVAL COMMANDER FETED--Heijing, September 21 (XINHUA)--Commander of the Navy of the Chinese People's Liberation Army Liu Huaqing gave a dinner here this evening in honor of Admiral Yves Leenhardt, chief of staff of the French Navy. Leenhardt is the first French navy chief to come to visit China since the diplomatic relations were established between the People's Republic of China and France in 1964. He arrived here yesterday. Liu paid a visit to France last year. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1331 GMT 21 Sep 86 OW] /12624

RADAR ANTI-JAMMING TECHNOLOGY--Beijing 18 Sep (XINHUA)--A Chinese air force unit has developed "abridged frequency conversion technology" which will help radar to improve its range and performance, and allow more resistance to interference. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1039 GMT 18 Sep 86 OW] /12624

CSO: 4000/020

KMT TOLERATES NONPARTISAN STREET ACTIVITIES

OW171006 Taipei CHINA POST in English 14 Sep 86 p 8

[Excerpt] The ruling Kuomintang is earnest in resuming talks with nonpartisans as manifested by its tolerance of the latter's street activities lately, the Chinese-language UNITED DAILY NEWS reported yesterday.

Security officials had suggested taking countermeasures to stop the nonpartisans from taking to the streets further, but the proposal was turned down by the policy making authorities of the KMT, the paper said.

As Taiwan is under martial law, sp\ ches and street activities not sanctioned by authorities are considered illegal and security officials can crack down on them.

After the dialogue is renewed, the KMT is willing to broaden the scope of the talks to include resolving the problem of the Tangwai Research Association for Public Policies (TRAPP), constitutional problems, etc., the paper said.

Meanwhile, KMT dignitaries yesterday visited nonpartisan legislator Fei Hsiping to look into possibilities of resuming the talks, which have been deadlocked since June.

/9738
CSO: 4000/008

BA YI ON KUOMINTANG REUNIFICATION CONDITIONS

OW091121 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1215 GMT 6 Sep 86

[Text] Chiang Ching-kuo and other Kuomintang chieftains have set six conditions for the reunification of China, which are extremely preposterous and absolutely unacceptable. For example, they want to put six provinces in east China under Kuomintang control after national reunification. As everyone knows, these six provinces are our country's richest and economically most developed provinces. According to our country's new plans, the east China economic zone will play a most important role in the country's modernization. If these six provinces were separated from the country as an economic entity, our plans for socialist construction might end in failure.

In addition, the Kuomintang calls for ensuring free competition between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party throughout the country. However, historical experience shows that the Kuomintang's reactionary chieftains have for decades tried in every possible way to kill all communists and establish one-party rule throughout the country. Harboring unrealistic ideas, many of them are still carrying on their anticommunist struggle under the banner of free Kuomintang-Communist competition, in an attempt to overthrow communist political power and rebuild Kuomintang political power.

Now, let us take a look at another one of their conditions, namely, that military leaders should not interfere in political matters. The purpose behind this is obvious to everybody. The Kuomintang reactionaries harbor a profound hostility to our Liberation Army. Under the party's leadership, our army smashed several million Kuomintang troops armed to the teeth by U.S. imperialism. All our commanders and fighters ardently love and firmly defend the motherland and are ready to die in defense of the achievements of the revolution and the socialist and communist cause. The PLA has long been ready in full battle array to resolutely hit back at the Kuomintang reactionaries and U.S. imperialists and at all their schemes and conspiracies against our country. This treacherous proposal that military leaders should not interfere in political matters is aimed at undermining our party-army and army-people unity.

Now, let us look at still another condition set by the Kuomintang chieftains. They call for recognizing the flag that depicts the blue sky and white sun as

national flag of China. This is another ridiculous condition. Please stop and think: The Five-Starred Red Flag has been flying over the motherland, the PRC, for the past 37 years. This flag was dyed red by the blood of the several million fighters who died for the victory of the people's revolution. One billion Chinese people are closely united under this red flag. How can we agree to replace our Five-Starred Red Flag with the Kuomintang flag of the blue sky and white sun?

In setting the six ridiculous conditions for the reunification of the country, Chinag Ching-Kuo and the other Kuomintang chieftains undoubtedly harbor the most sinister schemes. Instigated by U.S. imperialism, they put forward these conditions in an attempt to sabotage again the peaceful reunification of China.

Our stand on the question of reunifying China is clear-cut. Comrade Deng Xiaoping recently pointed out again: We want to settle the Taiwan issue through negotiation. However, our patience is limited. If the Kuomintang refuses to reunify the motherland by peaceful means, then we will have to liberate Taiwan by force.

These remarks by Comrade Deng Xiaoping express the aspirations of the entire army and people throughout the country. The six ridiculous conditions put forward by the Kuomintang chieftains for the reunification of China are absolutely unacceptable to the entire army and people across the country.

/6662
CSO: 4005/006

BRIEFS

REGRETS ON TYPHOON DEATHS--Beijing, 1 Sep (XINHUA)--The All-China Federation of Taiwan Compatriots here sent a cable today to the Taiwan Red-Cross Society, expressing condolences to Taiwan compatriots devastated by Typhoon Wayne on 22 August. "The news that dozens of people died, several hundred were injured and serious damage done to property by Typhoon Wayne has given us immense sadness. We wish to express our deep sympathy to the victims and we hope that they can soon rebuild their homes and lives," said the cable. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0930 GMT 01 Sep 86 OW] /9738

CSO: 4000/008

'NEGATIVE' ASPECTS FOR HONG KONG'S FUTURE DISCUSSED

HK090646 Hong Kong CHIUSHI NIENTAI in Chinese No 200, 1 Sep 86 pp 32-34

[Article by He Li [0149 4539]: "Hong Kong's Prospects: Increase in Negative Factors"]

[Excerpts] Since the Sino-British Joint Declaration officially went into effect in June 1985, Hong Kong's future political structure and the basic law have been discussed for over a year. Now China's official intention has become clearer, and the Hong Kong people's political enthusiasm has generally cooled. China's nuclear power station project in Daya Bay adjacent to Hong Kong has evoked a surging antinuclear tide in Hong Kong in recent months since the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station in the Soviet Union, but the Chinese authorities have no intention of reconsidering the Daya Bay project. The 1997 shadow plus the nuclear shadow have made many people feel more pessimistic about Hong Kong's future.

I have heard a story from my friends in journalistic circles: Some people talked with a senior official of the Hong Kong Government, asking him to enumerate some optimistic factors for Hong Kong's future, but that senior official could not mention anything significant. The only thing which can be regarded as an optimistic factor is that both China and Britain have agreed to arrange an independent membership for Hong Kong in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The Waning of Political Enthusiasm

The issue of Hong Kong's future has given rise to the establishment of many organizations which intend to comment on political affairs and participate in political activities. There are political organizations of people from the grassroots level and intellectuals from the middle class, and there are also political organizations composed of professionals and management personnel at the upper level who are close to the government establishment. Some people even tried to found political parties for a time. At one period, Hong Kong, which was apolitical for a long time, was suddenly sent into a political fever. However, as the Chinese authorities have more clearly shown their intention concerning Hong Kong's future political arrangements, the political fever among Hong Kong people has begun to cool down.

First, some political groups composed of the social elite, who are closely associated with the upper level and the capitalists have changed their course. A few years ago, when China put forward the slogan of "Hong Kong people governing Hong Kong," a group of outstanding professionals expressed their doubts and they said that it would not be possible to practice "Hong Kong people's self-government." After the joint declaration was published, they began to believe that the joint declaration would ensure that the future Hong Kong Government would be composed of "local inhabitants" and practice "a high degree of autonomy." So they tried to organize political parties. Their enthusiasm vanished after the Chinese authorities indicated that they do not want to see any "major changes" in Hong Kong's government system, and their plan to organize a political party of the elite was also abortive. They explained their reason for giving up the plan to organize a political party by saying that Hong Kong is not an independent country and there could not be any political party under China's sovereignty.

Second, the political organizations, which are composed of the intellectuals from the grassroots level and the middle class who are rather active in discussing the basic law and the future government system, recently have also become tired of the political activities. Some opinion groups which are loosely formed have ceased to eixst except in name, and many of their members have quit. Only a few major organizations can still maintain cohesion among their members and continue some activities, but they have also stopped holding the forums and seminars which are their main form of activity. People have become lukewarm about the joint meetings of the opinion groups for the purpose of forming alliances, carrying out cooperation, or exchanging opinions, and fewer people and groups now attend such meetings. With regard to this phenomenon, some people in political circles explained that this is because there have been no incidents in the recent period to stimulate political activities, no such opportunities as elections and mass movements for the activists to attend, some political activists have entered the government establishment, and most organizations recently directed their attention to the case of calling for the suspension of the Daya Bay nuclear power station project. In addition, they have long made public their political opinions and have nothing new to add. The mass media have also become tired of reporting their opinions. Above all, an important reason is that their high expectations for the "historical opportunity" brought about by the 1997 issue have encountered a strong rebuff from the Chinese authorities and the social groups which have vested interests in Hong Kong who hate to see any change in the establishment, so even if they lower their expectations, they still find that they can hardly succeed in anything.

On the other hand, the general public in Hong Kong is obviously unconcerned with the basic law and the future political structure. The rows and discords in the drafting and consultation of the basic law have given rise to "lethargy" among many Hong Kong people. hind-the-scenes manipulation of the Chinese authorities in the preparation and establishment of the consultative committee of the basic law has greatly dampened people's confidence in China's promise of allowing "Hong Kong people to govern Hong Kong." Not long after the consultative committee began to work, quite a few members of the committee

felt dispirited and could not really do what they wanted to do. Only after the basic law drafting committee held its second meeting in Beijing this April were the members of the consultative committee able to read the draft about the structure of the basic law, and before that, they had merely to wait for Beijing's arrangements and had no chance to express their opinions. As for the group meetings, especially the meetings of the group for the future government system, they were merely free and fruitless discussions, and a place for idle talk. Now, only one-third or one-half of the consultative committee members attend the group meetings, which are held twice a month. Because there is merely idle talk at such meetings, the meetings cannot sum up any general opinions or opinions of the majority. In the consultative committee, there are different opinions on the selection of the chief executive of the future government and on the forming of the future legislature, but the consultative committee will not decide anything through voting as the committee's constitution stipulates, and various opinions will only be recorded in the meeting minutes which do not reflect the proportion of members agreeing with an opinion. So some people are worried that this will merely enable the Chinese authorities to adopt the opinions they like.

The Chinese Authorities Make Their Attitude Clear

Last year, on the issue concerning the development of the government system in Hong Kong's transition period, the Chinese authorities instructed Xu Jiatun, director of the XINHUA Hong Kong Branch, to denounce "some people's violation of the book," and this finally forced the British side to agree that the development of Hong Kong's government system must be dovetailed with the basic law. In the activities of the basic law drafting and consultative committees, Beijing has made its intentions clear. The intentions of the Chinese authorities on Hong Kong's future government system can be summarized into the following points: first, in the transition period before 1997, there can only be some minor changes and must not be any major changes in Hong Kong's government system, and reform of the government system must be subject to the basic law. Second, China does not want to see the organization of political parties among Hong Kong people themselves, and does not want to see Hong Kong people bargaining with Beijing in an organized way. Third, China does not want to see a political structure of democratic representative government replacing Hong Kong's existing political structure of colonial government, does not want to see too many members of the future legislature being elected directly by the public, and does not want to see a chief executive elected by any form of open and general election. Fourth, China hopes that Hong Kong's future political structure will be centered on an executive chief who takes orders from Beijing, and does not want to see a ministerial system. So China explains the point that "the executive authorities should be accountable to the legislature" in the joint declaration in its own way.

In addition, the central authorities in Beijing have also laid down other rules and regulations over the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. First, Hong Kong cannot even have any "residual power" over affairs which are not related to defense and foreign affairs, and all power which has not been specified should fall into the hands of the central authorities. Second, the drafting

of the basic law for Hong Kong cannot affect China's Constitution, and the Constitution will not be revised and nothing will be added to it because of the basic law in Hong Kong; Hong Kong's basic law cannot indicate the invalidity of the Constitution or any articles of the Constitution in Hong Kong. Third, freedom of speech and freedom of the press in Hong Kong must not violate China's sovereignty.

The senior officials in charge of Hong Kong affairs in Beijing repeatedly explained and stressed the above-mentioned points of the Chinese authorities, and issued various warnings to Hong Kong. The Beijing officials said that the term "accountable" in the statement that "the executive authorities should be accountable to the legislature" means "having the responsibility for making explanations, exposition, and consultation." Later, Li Hou, deputy director of the State Council Office for Hong Kong and Macao Affairs, said that China does not want to see a chief executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region who merely has a title and does not have real power. According to Li Hou, the relationship between the future administration and legislature should be: the administration should report its work to the legislature and reply to inquiries raised by the legislature; the legislature has power to approve financial budget [words indistinct] the financial reports submitted by the administration; the legislature also has power to impeach any senior administrative official who has broken the law and request the central government to handle the case. As far as the matter of political parties is concerned, Li Hou said in Shenzhen in May that the only regulation that can be made is to firbid the organization of political parties in Hong Kong, and he also warned that if parties are founded in Hong Kong after 1997, it is "hard to say" whether the Communist Party will also carry out open activities. Not long after that, Lu Ping, secretary general of the State Council Office for Hong Kong and Macao Affairs, also said that there should be no party politics in Hong Kong, because it would make the situation too complicated and too chaotic. Lu Ping also had reservations on direct elections because it might unavoidably give rise to party politics, and he did not agree with the ministerial system either because it is not in line with the joint declaration and may give rise to political parties too. Like Li Hou, Lu Ping also mentioned the question of enacting a law to forbid political parties.

Now, the officials from Beijing are singing the same tune, and Lu Ping also said that Li Hou's explanation of the term "accountable" was based on the "common understanding" between China and Britain. However, this has given people the impression that the Chinese authorities explain the articles of the joint declaration as they like. At the same time, China has announced that the premium income from land transactions in Hong Kong in the account of the future Special Administrative Region will be used to make investments. Some people regard this move as a violation of the joint declaration, because the joint declaration stipulates that the premium income should be deposited in banks incorporated in Hong Kong and should not be drawn on except for the financing of land development and public works in Hong Kong. However, the Beijing official said that entrusting banks to invest this money does not go against the spirit of the joint declaration, because merely depositing the money with banks to earn interest will not be an effective way to maintain the value of this fund. So a land fund investment committee was then established.

The Conservative Tendency Holds Sway

As China restricts the reform of Hong Kong's political structure, the local antireform force is also acting tenaciously. People in the upper class and in the business and industrial circles, who have vested interests in the existing establishment, are trying hard to resist the efforts of people at the grassroots level to share their power and hold that the further opening of the government to people's participation will inevitably lead to the rise of the faction which advocates "free lunch."

Former secretary of finance John Bremridge once gave a prudent warning to those "stubborn politicians" who intend to slowly advance representative government. Hong Kong Bank chairman Sandberg (the biggest and most influential banker in Hong Kong who held a position in the Executive Council for 8 years) openly said not long ago that a small handful of politicians are seeking fame rather than caring about Hong Kong's future and they are merely newsmakers who do harm to Hong Kong. Sandberg also held that the public's pressure on the government merely comes from some small pressure groups and seldom comes from the majority of thepublic. At the same time, some members of the Executive Council warned that the pursuit of representative government must be very prudent and no drastic changes should be brought about, and some other members insist that members of the Executive Council must be appointed, and one of the reasons for this is that they must keep government secrets. They also said that the government system of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region should not be too far different from the existing one.

The business circles' resistance to an open government system also finds expression in the basic law consultative committee. Many consultative committee members from the business circles hold that most members of the future legislature should be elected indirectly rather than directly, and some people even insist that a certain proportion be appointed members. They also oppose the appointment of a chief executive by means of general election and oppose the forming of a large electoral college; instead, they hold that the chief executive should just be nominated and elected by a small number of people. Obviously, these people have learned from the message passed through China's official channels that the Chinese authorities do not want to see too many changes in Hong Kong's government system, so they think that it is better to go along with the Chinese authorities.

As a result, the "democratic faction" in the consultative committee is in a disadvantageous position. Recently some 50 members of the consultative committee put forward a proposal for a future government system which will "have very few changes." They proposed that half of the seats in the legislature be held by the people elected by the functional constituencies and the other half of the seats be held by people elected by the electoral college and elected directly by the public. On the other hand, they proposed that the chief executive be elected by another electoral college.

The pro-China organs and opinions in Hong Kong have expressed appreciation of those remarks which agree that the fewer changes in the government system the better. They even hold that the remarks of the people at the upper level of the government establishment show that Britain's approach to representative government is getting closer to the government system of the future Special Administrative Region. According to the pro-China organs, the statements of Li Hou and Lu Ping showed Beijing's hand. They also go all out to advocate that the future government system in Hong Kong must be "led" by the executive authorities and that directly elected members of the legislature should not account for too large a percentage.

According to the white paper on representative government, the Hong Kong Government will study the issue of direct elections when it reviews the development of the government system next year, and may begin to hold direct elections in 1988. Most opinion groups agree that direct elections should be held at an earlier date, but the conservative forces have many reservations on direct elections. The pro-China organs have even said that the review of the government system should be postponed to 1989, and fiercely attacked the elected members of the Legislative Council who advocated "resisting communism by means of democracy." A government official once said that the force which demands direct elections is not strong enough. Some people are also worried that the review next year will not be a substantial one but may be a final one, because it is not worthwhile for the "lame duck" government to "flatly defy" China, and everything can be arranged in light of the basic law. At the same time, people may also expect that as the conservative force holds sway now, it will play a greater role in Hong Kong's political arena.

The Shock of the Nuclear Power Plant Project

After the nuclear disaster occurred, which could "only happen once in 10,000 years," Hong Kong people became seriously worried about the Daya Bay Nuclear Power Station project, fearing that if an accident happened at that power plant, Hong Kong would suffer unimaginable consequences. In recent months, the issue concerning the Daya Bay nuclear power plant has been tainted with more and more political color, and the opposing opinions on this issue have become more and more antagonistic. On the one hand, there is a surging antinuclear tide among residents in Hong Kong; on the other hand, the Chinese authorities are resolved to push ahead with the nuclear power plant.

The movement to stop the Daya Bay Nuclear Power project collected more than 1 million signatures, and representatives of more than 100 organizations participating in this antinuclear movement also went to Beijing to present a petition, but Beijing continues on its established course. Hong Kong people are not only worried about the safety of the Daya Bay Nuclear Power project on technological grounds, but are also worried about China's system for operating and managing this nuclear power plant. At the same time, they fear that the nuclear power plant may shake people's confidence in the practice of "one country, two systems," because any slight trouble at Daya Bay or any nuclear accidents in other countries may trigger a crisis of confidence in Hong Kong, which could upset people and drain human and financial resources, thus affecting the implementation of "one country, two systems."

However, the Chinese authorities did not make the slightest concession to the antinuclear demands of the Hong Kong public, and instead launched a propaganda counteroffensive. They repeatedly stressed the high level of safety of the nuclear power project and denounced the antinuclear opinions as "irrational." In China's propaganda offensive, people noted that the weekly LIAOWANG OVERSEAS EDITION declared in its column "Letter from Beijing" that the Chinese Government's policy for developing the nuclear power industry will never change (and this certainly applies to the Daya Bay project), and it also quoted an "authoritative person" by saying that the rumor about China's reconsideration of the Daya Bay project is absolutely groundless. People have also noted that an article carried by TA KUNG PAO was published in the form of a booklet entitled "Shoud the Daya Bay Nuclear Power Station Be Built?" It explains that China will resolutely develop the nuclear power industry; the Daya Bay Nuclear Power station will be very safe; China will properly manage the nuclear power plant; and the Chinese Government does attach importance to the wishes of the public.

In the controversies over the nuclear power project, some people in Hong Kong proceed purely from the angle of technology and hold that the nuclear power plant will be very safe; but others make political speculation by opposing the antinuclear movement. Some backbone elements of the bloc which opposes the antinuclear movement are politicians who have even advocated democratization in Hong Kong.

The antagonism over the nuclear issue has fiercely shaken people's feelings. Some people hold that Hong Kong people's antinuclear movement is a test of the Chinese authorities' sincerity for respecting the wishes of the public and for implementing "one country, two systems," and the Chinese authorities' persistence in building the Daya Bay nuclear power plant just shows that they only want to save face and do not allow public opinion to affect their rule and authoritative position. The Chinese authorities' position of not stopping the project, not moving the construction site, and not postponing the project has made many people in Hong Kong and overseas resentful. Some people working with pro-China institutions even said angrily that if China insists on building the Daya Bay nuclear power station and defies the people's wishes, China will have no bright future, because these people are a group of Hong Kong residents who have the least opportunity to emigrate to other countries.

The Hidden Perils in the Social, Political, and Economic Fields

In view of the dim political future, many people who have the opportunity to emigrate have been making preparations to seek a way out for themselves. Emigration is a constant focus of social attention. Any shocking event in Hong Kong can prompt a new group of people to make up their minds to emigrate to other countries. The dim political future has also brought a mentality of seeking monetary ease and of facing the end of the world to many people in Hong Kong.

In the economic field, the increasing uncertainty of the political future has highlighted the tendencies of an outflow of funds and diversifying of investment. In the past 1 to 2 years, China has poured in funds to rescue many big companies, and quite a few of these business failures were related to people's pessimistic views on Hon$_{\wedge}$ Kong's future. For investors, the years around 1990 will be a crucial psychological period, and there will be a cricis of confidence. Hong Kong's economy will also face a stern test. People who want to diversify the arrangement of their wealth and prepare a way out must complete these things before 1990. Some corporations are now selling their stocks and assets, and this may also be related to the need to prepare a way out. As a senior official who knows much about Hong Kong's economic tendencies said, the expected returns of investment are proportionate to the risks of investment; the greater the risks are, the greater the expected returns should be. The closer it is to 1997, the greater the uncertainty about the political future will be, so the greater risks investment will face. Then, even if people are still investing, they will be more anxious to reap staggering returns. Thus, this will be a major hidden peril in Hong Kong's future economy.

Now, there are fewer than 11 years before 1997. Although the countdown to 1997 is moving toward the end, the sun still rises from the east every day as always, and the people still have a long way to go. It will never be easy to go this way, because we are in fact pushing a cart of stones uphill.

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